This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

F32553

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

369

MEMOIRS

OF

PRINCE RUPERT,

AND THE CAVALIERS.

VOL. III.

Vandyke pinx.   J.W. Cook sc.

James Graham,

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

MEMOIRS

OF

PRINCE RUPERT,

AND THE CAVALIERS.

Including their Private Correspondence,

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

BY

ELIOT WARBURTON,

AUTHOR OF "THE CRESCENT AND THE CROSS."

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

M.DCCC.XLIX.

E2

DA407
R9W2
v.3

[illegible] gilt ed
[illegible]

London:
Printed by S. & J. Bentley and Henry Fley,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

CONTENTS

TO

THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

THE TREATY; THE LAST FIGHT.

PAGE

THE KING'S "HAPPY PROGRESS." — TREATY OF UXBRIDGE. — LEICESTER SIEGE. — BATTLE OF NASEBY. — SURRENDER OF BRISTOL. — QUARREL AT NEWARK. — ALL IS OVER. — THE CAVALIERS ARE SUPPRESSED. — RUPERT LEAVES ENGLAND 1

CHAPTER II.

RUPERT AT SEA.

SURRENDER OF OXFORD. — FRENCH CAMPAIGN. — RUPERT BECOMES AN ADMIRAL; HIS CRUISE TO IRELAND; TO THE MEDITERRANEAN; TO THE WEST INDIES.—RETURN TO FRANCE 233

CHAPTER III.

THE KING'S DEATH; ITS CONSEQUENCES.

THE KING AT NEWPORT, AT HURST CASTLE, IN LONDON. — HIS TRIAL AND HIS END 391

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST.

PAGE
RUPERT IN FRANCE: TURNS TO PHILOSOPHY.—THE RESTORATION.—SEA-FIGHTS.—DEATH OF PRINCE RUPERT 417

APPENDIX.

A. MARQUIS OF WORCESTER (LORD GLAMORGAN'S) LETTER . . 515
B. PITT'S RELATION 531
C. VOYAGE TO THE RIVER GAMBIA 538
D. PRINCE RUPERT'S LOG 540
E. LIST OF PRINCE RUPERT'S ENGRAVINGS 546
F. JAMES THE SECOND'S LETTER 549
G. CROMWELL IN IRELAND 551
H. PRINCE RUPERT'S LETTER TO SIR JOHN GRENVILLE . . 552
I. IRISH PLANTATION PAPERS 553
K. ORDER OF PRINCE RUPERT'S FUNERAL 555
L. PRINCE RUPERT'S EXECUTOR'S ACCOUNT 558

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAIT OF JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE . *to face the title.*
PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF NASEBY 104
PORTRAIT OF SIR CHARLES LUCAS 406

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
PRINCE RUPERT
AND
THE CAVALIERS.

CHAPTER I.

THE TREATY; THE LAST FIGHT.

THE KING'S "HAPPY PROGRESS." — TREATY OF UXBRIDGE. — LEICESTER SIEGE. — BATTLE OF NASEBY. — SURRENDER OF BRISTOL. — QUARREL AT NEWARK. — ALL IS OVER. — THE CAVALIERS ARE SUPPRESSED. — RUPERT LEAVES ENGLAND.

"I look upon the way of treaties, as a retiring from fighting like beasts, to arguing like men, whose strength should be more in their understandings than their limbs." Charles I.
Icon Basilicon.

One body jars,
And with itself does fight,
War meets with wars,
And might resisteth might;
And both sides say they love the king,
And peace will bring,
Yet since these fatal broils begun,
Strange riddle! both have *conquer'd*, neither *won*.
Old Song.

The first report concerning the battle of Marston Moor reached the King on the 5th of July at Evesham. The messenger had left the field while victory inclined to the Royalists, and it was not until the 12th that the terrible truth was ascertained. The destruction of his Northern army confirmed the King in his determination to follow Essex to the South, and thus the expedition to Exeter was undertaken, as narrated in the last chapter.[1] The mere data of his Majesty's progress

---

[1] Lord Digby's letters always deserve perusal; I have almost a continued narrative from him and others, running contemporaneously with Sir Edward Walker's very much amplified history from which the summary in the text is taken.

LORD DIGBY TO PRINCE RUPERT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

Since my last unto you from Bath, wherein I stated unto your Highness the condition of our affairs here, and of our resolutions forward, we have marched on as fast as conveniently we could towards a conjunction with Prince Maurice's army, whereof we are now within a day's march, and no enemy between to hinder us; for Essex hearing of our approach, while Prince Maurice lay at Kirton, and he about Tiverton, thought with a swift march in the night to have surprised him, or clapped betwixt him and Exeter, of which he missed but very little. But the Prince, by good intelligence, got an hour before him in his retreat to Exeter, by which miss Essex was cast westward of us both; and being not able to hinder our joining is now retreated towards Plymouth, where, I believe, he intends to strengthen himself with the garrison, and with mariners out of the fleet which lies there, and to give us battle upon the best advantage he can: but we see not how he can well subsist when we shall come near him, with Cornwall behind him, where we have forces enough to keep the passes into that country. In a word, sir, we are likely (by God's blessing) to have a very fair opportunity against him, for which we owe many thanks to Waller for dallying still about Oxford. Our great care at this time is for your Highness, which we cannot express better than by taking all the care we can to supply your Highness with powder, both from Bristol and from Ireland, whither we have sent on purpose several messengers, and we are not out of hopes but by this time your Highness may have had the fruit of their solicitation.

We are very glad here to understand that Goring is come so will be here sufficient, and is not uninteresting from its precision and particulars.[1]

---

near as Bristol, *the business he came for, shall be gone through with*, the superseding of Wilmot; but, till we have spoken with him, I cannot certainly tell your Highness in what particular manner, as soon as it is done your Highness shall receive an express; in the meantime, and ever, I beseech your Highness to believe that I am Your Highness's
Most faithful humble servant,
Exeter, July 27th, 1644. GEORGE DIGBY.

[1] July, 1644.

	Nights	Miles
Monday, the 1st, to Dedington; the Parsonage	1	2
Tuesday, the 2nd, to Morton Hinmarch; the White Hart	1	12
Wednesday, the 3rd, to Evisham; Alderman Martin's	9	10
Friday, the 12th, to Coverley; the Earl of Down's by Bradway and Sudley	1	16
Saturday, the 13th, to Sapperton; Sir Henry Poole's, near Cirencester	1	7
Sunday, the 14th, to Bodmyngton [Badminton]; the Lord Herbert's of Ragland [the house of Lord Viscount Somerset's daughter and heiress, Sir Edward Walker says]	1	14
Monday, the 15th, to Bath; Sir Thomas Bridges, the governor's	2	11
Wednesday, the 17th,* to Mells; Sir John Horner's, the King's by attainder [Sir John had fought in Waller's ranks at Lansdown and Roundway Down]	2	8
Friday, the 19th, to Bruton; Sir Charles Bartley's	2	10
Saturday, the 20th, to Ilchester; Mr. Dawes's house	4	12
Wednesday, the 24th, to Charde; Mr. Barcroft's, a merchant of London	1	12
Thursday, the 25th, to Hunington; Dr. Marwood's, a physician	1	12
Friday, the 26th, to Exeter: Bedford House, Sir John Bartley's, the governor	1	15
Saturday, the 27th, to Crediton—dinner: to Bradinch; Mr. Seuter's—supper	1	16

* On this day the remote and quiet Island of Lundy, in the Bristol Channel, was summoned by the Parliament, and bravely defended for the King.—*Rupert's Correspondence.*

This period, up to the end of August, was only signalised by the following event: Sir Francis Ded-

---

	Nights	Miles
Sunday, the 28th, to Crediton; Mr. Tucker's house	1	8
Monday, the 29th, to Bow; Mr. Philips's—a mean quarter	1	10
Tuesday, the 30th, to Oakhampton; at Mr. Rotenbury's	1	8
Wednesday, the last, to Lifton; the Parsonage-house	1	8

August, 1644.

Thursday, the 1st, to Trecarel; Mr. Manington's house in Cornwall	1	9
Friday, the 2nd, to Liskard; Mr. Jeane, a commissioner's house	6	8
Thursday, the 8th, to Boconnock; the Lord Mohun's, but called from thence to make ready at Mr. Glin's of Glinford; affrighted from thence by the militia. His Majesty lay in the field all night in his coach on Boconnock Down, a heathy place	1	5
Friday, the 9th, to Boconnock again, where his Majesty quartered	21	5
Saturday, the last day, to Lestithiall, thence toward Foy; his Majesty lay in the field, his meat and drink dressed at Mr. Hixt's; the militia disarmed; Essex fled the field; the articles confirmed	2	5
And here his Majesty's clemency was most eminent; when having all the infantry at his mercy, he not only pardoned the soldiers in general, but admitted the chief officers to kiss his hand: only refused that favour to Major-General Skippon, as being too great an enemy to his Majesty's honour and safety	2	5

September, 1644.

Monday, the 2nd, to Boconnock; the Lord Mohun's again	2	5
Wednesday, the 4th, to Liskard; Mr. Jeane's	1	7
Thursday, the 5th, to Tavistock; the Lady Glanvil's	5	15
Tuesday, the 10th, to Widey, near Plymouth; Yeoman Heale's house	4	10
Saturday, the 14th, to Tavistock; the Lady Glanvil's	3	10
Monday, the 16th, to Oakhampton; Mr. Rottenbury's	1	12
Tuesday, the 17th, to Exeter; Bedford House, the governor's house at Crediton	6	20
Monday, the 23rd, to Chard; Mr. Barcroft's: at Honiton, dinner	7	27

ington, supported by Lord Hopton, took the "Woodhouse," near Frome, and hanged fourteen of

---

	Nights	Miles
Monday, the last day, to South Parrat; Mr. Gibs's—dinner in the field	1	8
October, 1644.		
Tuesday, the 1st, to Mayden Newton; Mr. Osborne's; dinner in the field	1	8
Wednesday, the 2nd, to Sherborn Lodge, the Lord Digby's; dinner in the field	6	12
Tuesday, the 8th, to Stalbridge; the Earl of Cork's; dined there	1	5
Wednesday, the 9th, to Stirmister Newton; Mr. Reeves; dinner in the field	1	3
Thursday, the 10th, to Brianstone, near Blandford; Mrs. Rogers's	4	7
Monday, the 14th, to Cranborn Lodge, the Earl of Salisbury's; dinner in the field	1	10
Tuesday, the 15th, to Salisbury; Dr. Sadler's, chancellor; dinner in a little lodge	3	10
Friday, the 18th, to Andover; the White Hart; dinner in the field	1	15
Saturday, the 19th, to Whitechurch; Mr. Brooke's; dinner in the field	2	7
Monday, the 21st, to King's Cleer; Mr. Tower's; dinner at Whitechurch	1	5
His Majesty's march from the West in October.		
October, 1644.		
Tuesday, the 22nd, to Newbery; Mr. Dunce's; dinner at King's Cleer	5	6
Sunday, the 27th, a great and second battle betwixt his Majesty's army and the Parliament's, by the same hands his Majesty had disarmed and shewn mercy to at Lestithiall; wherein his Majesty had much the better of the day, and yet was advised to desert the field; whereby, &c., his Majesty marched to meet Prince Rupert at Bath. Prince Maurice, General Goring, and most of his Majesty's household, about nine o'clock that Sunday night, marched from Denyngton Castle to Wallingford, and the next day, Monday, the 28th, came all to Oxford, waiting for his Majesty	1	25

its defenders for having broken their oaths as former prisoners. Waller had been roaming about Oxford with his rapidly decreasing forces, in a very inoffensive manner. Essex had also been almost passive at Tiverton, in Devonshire, though Barnstaple had revolted to him, and Taunton Castle had been taken. The Queen had departed for France on the 14th, and Prince Maurice had exerted himself to cover her departure. Sir Richard Grenville was still besieging Plymouth,[1] whose command of the sea rendered it secure. Wareham had been first gallantly defended against Essex, but was voluntarily surrendered by Colonel O'Brien on the 24th: the Colonel taking ship with his whole regiment for Ireland to assist his brother Lord Inchiquin in his revolt. After his impolitic reception at Oxford, this nobleman had betaken himself to his own county, and there had seized Cork and Kinsale for the Parliament. On the 27th, the King reviewed Prince Maurice's army, consisting of four thousand five hundred well armed foot, in Crediton Meadows. This force was sent forward as an advanced guard after Essex, the King following at the distance of one day's march. The Lord-General had been led into Cornwall, that *cul de sac* of England, by the persuasion of Lord Roberts, who had property there which he desired to revisit in security. Sir Richard Grenville, driven from the siege of Plymouth, retired before the Roundhead army as far as Truro. Essex lay at Liskeard, Lord Roberts at Bodmin. On the 1st of August, the King passed his army over the Tamar by Lamerton, and addressed his troops, commanding and conjuring them to abstain from plunder. On the 3rd, his Majesty rested in Liskeard, the Roundheads retiring before him to Lestwithiel. Here it was, when Essex and his army were in extremities, that the King made an urgent offer of accommodation to the Lord-General, desiring that he would assist in procuring a peace on the broadest and most constitutional basis. The reply of Essex was verbal and very brief; it was transmitted by his nephew, Lord Beauchamp, and to this effect:—"That he, the Lord-General, would discharge his duty, and would advise the King to return to his Parliament.[1] Soon afterwards the officers

---

[1] "This town (Plymouth) is well provided with victual, which is brought in by sea, beef being sold here for 2½*d.* the lb., ; cheese, meal, hops, coal, &c. cheaper there than at London ; their chiefest want consisting of money and river-water, which for some uses is better than well-water, of which they have plenty."—*The Weekly Account, July* 30, 1644.

---

[1] Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourse, p. 57. The following letter relates to this, and to Prince Rupert's well-founded suspicion that Digby was endeavouring to undermine his credit with the King :—

SIR,

Since Mr. Goodwin parted from us I have received one letter from your Highness, but that is of so old a date that you can expect nothing from it. That which has lately happened, that was here least expected, was the making my Lord Wilmot prisoner and giving Goring the command of the horse. Many of the officers of the horse delivered the King a petition, and civilly desired him to let them know the reason of his imprisonment: the King has promised them he will do it, and I believe so good of the army, strange to say, took the initiative in addressing Essex again on the subject of a peace. This was done in the form of a letter, signed by Prince Maurice, with an assurance that Prince Rupert desired to have his signature also affixed to the docu-

---

a one, that I think they will be all satisfied. Essex has absolutely refused all manner of treaty, both with the King and his army. For that particular which concerns your Highness, he says if he would hearken to anything it should be to that, but the times are not now fit for it: what has passed concerning this has been known to no person living but the King. We are here nine thousand foot and four thousand horse. Essex, for anything we yet see, will not fight with us, and how we shall be able to force him in his quarters is that which we do not yet find, and it is likely we may want victuals before him. The King has sent a new command to Bristol, which I believe will be obeyed, for a hundred barrels of powder for your Highness, and Gerrard is to convoy it; but you must not fail so soon as you can to send to him, for fear he should not be hasty in obeying the King's command. Captain Cobb came hither two days since, but I do not find it possible at this time for the King to spare Goring. It is my opinion, whatever the King's success is against Essex, he will not be able to make many of the Cornish march out of this county; and I believe nothing so necessary for his affairs as to join with your Highness. Your Highness's

Most faithful, humble servant,

[Without signature. I believe it is from the Duke of] RICHMOND AND LENNOX.

P.S.—Captain Cobb has desired me to let you know he has satisfied the King concerning all the passages of your business in the North, and I know he does not nor ever did believe you faulty in anything has fallen out there. The King is resolved not to dispose of anything you wrote to him about Sir Marmaduke Langdale, but leaves it absolutely to you to dispose on as you please. The King has sent to Garrat to command those two counties men had till he shall receive further orders from you, or else there could nothing pass from Bristol to your Highness. It is given out here that your commanders are unsatisfied, because you hear only private counsels, and never hear their opinions concerning your business.

ment, the Earl of Brentford, as General,[1] and all the superior officers of the King's army. At the same time Wilmot sent a private message to Lord Essex, which determined the King no longer to leave him in command.

Lord Goring at length reached the King's camp, on the 7th of August, at Liskeard.[2] On the following morning, when the army was prepared to march, Lord Wilmot was arrested at the head of his cavalry by Sir Edward Sydenham, knight-marshal.

---

[1] Mr. Hallam (Const. Hist. i. 583), ingeniously suggests that Prince Maurice and General Bradford signed this letter by the King's desire, in order to take off from it the appearance of its having been the work of a faction in the army, and arguing the influence of Wilmot and Percy. I find nothing to contradict that supposition.

[2] At this date I find the subjoined trace of the Prince at Chester, 3rd of August, 1644. The measures referred to in the following orders, with others of the same nature, began to estrange the Welsh counties from the Royal cause, especially as the execution of such orders were of necessity left to subordinates :—

I do hereby require and authorise you, or any three of you, whereof either the governor, lieutenant-governor, or high-sheriff of the county, for the time being, to be one, by all means, and with all convenient speed, to inquire what monies have of late years been sessed and levied within your county, either for the providing of arms or powder, repair of bridges, shire-money, poll-money, subsidies, coat- and conduct-money, press-money, provision of clothes, beeves, and mutton, taxed and levied for his Majesty's service in the beginning of these present wars, or what other sums soever. And to make a strict and impartial examination, as well by oath as otherwise, what monies levied for the public uses above-mentioned remain yet unexpended, and in whose hands. And in case it appear that any part of the said sums remain yet unlevied, you are forthwith to cause the same to be collected ; and that, together with those moneys already collected, to be paid into the hands of the high-sheriffs, to be employed in the public services according to such orders and directions as the said high-sheriffs or the governor shall receive from me

A dangerous commotion ensued, which was only quelled by the King. He rode to the head of each regiment, and assured them that Lord Wilmot's arrest was only temporary; that, for the present, he had appointed Lord Goring to succeed him, as Lieutenant-General of horse; and that it was at Prince Rupert's special request he had done so.[1]

On the same day the Royal army was led up to the enemy on Brodoke Down, whence, after making a useless demonstration, they retired to Glinsworth. On the 11th, Sir Richard Grenville's forces, amount-

---

in that behalf. Hereof you are not to fail, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at Chester, under my hand and seal of arms, the 3rd of August, 1644.

RUPERT.

To Sir Jo. Mennes, Knt. Governor of North Wales; Dudley Wyatt, Esq., Lieut.-Governor of North Wales; John Morgan, Esq., High Sheriff of the county of Merioneth; Wm. Price, Hugh Nanny, Humphrey Hughes, Owen Salisbury, and William Owen, Governor of Harleck, Esquires.*

[1] This, no doubt, was done by Digby's instigation, who was the greatest enemy that Wilmot had, except himself. Digby must have hugged himself on the contrivance of making his other great enemy, Rupert, appear to be the mover in this transaction. Wilmot was effectually gotten rid of, notwithstanding the angry remonstrance of the officers, whom his evil example had corrupted. He was obliged to retire into France. He was created Earl of Rochester by Charles II., whom he assisted in his escape after the battle of Worcester. He was the head of the profligate school of Cavaliers, whom his wit fascinated. Goring was jealous of his popularity, which was enhanced by his attendance to military duties: these he never neglected for debauchery, as Goring often did.

* From the Owen Papers, in the collection of W. Ormsby Gore, Esq., M.P.

ing to two thousand four hundred horse and foot, joined the Royal army, and the King then proceeded to the moat to block up Essex in the little town of Foy, near Lestwithiel.

At this conjuncture, Lord Digby writes the following important letter to the Prince; the first paragraphs merely give details of the campaign:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

SINCE my last unto your Highness, we have been constantly in pursuit of Essex. At length we have lodged him at a little town called Lestwithiel, in the heart of Cornwall, upon the river that goes down to Fowey. The King's, and the greater part of Prince Maurice's army, lie encamped by Boconnock, within a mile and a-half of him, being upon the point of ten thousand strong in foot. Sir Richard Grenville's army, consisting of near three thousand foot, with some addition from Prince Maurice's, lies within the same distance, at Repryn Bridge. Our horse, which are in all about four thousand, lie quartered round —the best they can with safety—to cut off all provisions from the rebels, who, since our possessing a fort that commands the Harbour of Fowey, are like suddenly to be distressed; which is the only way to master them, it being impossible to force them where they lie. This is the state of our business here, whereof (if we be vigilant to avoid affronts) I doubt not but to give your Highness speedily a very cheerful account. Essex entertains his men with hopes of Brown's or Waller's coming to relieve them. But they have neither the power, for ought we can hear, *nor the will* to do it. We have left no way unattempted to gain Essex and his army to join in a common cause, of seeking to procure the peace of the kingdom, as your Highness will perceive by those letters and instructions which this bearer, Colonel Cobb, hath to shew unto your Highness. But the Earl is certainly possessed with such a frenzy, as nothing can cure but that ruin which certainly he is destined unto, which side soever prevail.

We have lately ventured here, upon extreme remedies unto the danger that threatened us. Among ourselves Wilmot, upon Wednesday was se'nnight, was arrested prisoner at the head of the army, and Goring declared General of the horse. His Majesty, intending to make Rupert Generalissimo, as soon as he shall find means to satisfy the old general, that it may be no disgrace to him. In which action I must not omit to let your Highness know that Tom Elliott did eminent service. There have been since consultations and murmurings among his party, but the issue of them was only this inclosed modest Petition, which produced the answer and declaration of the causes of his commitment, which I herewithall send your Highness, and so the business rests. My Lord Percy, also, is withdrawing himself, upon good advice, and my Lord Hopton possessed of his charge. I make no doubt but all the ill-humours in our army will be allayed, now that the two poles, upon which they moved, are taken away.

Our great care is for your Highness; first, how to supply your wants of ammunition; and next, what to propose unto you by way of advice, in order to the King's affairs, if please God to prosper him so in this action as to be able to draw eastward before the winter approach. For the first, all is done that can be. There are a hundred barrels of powder sent from Bristol, through Wales, and recommended to Charles Gerrard to have them conveyed so fast as shall be necessary.

We are likewise put in hopes out of Ireland, that our negotiation there for powder hath succeeded. Probably your Highness may be by this time in some measure supplied from thence.

For the other, that which is most in his Majesty's wishes, is, that since there is within those parts worthy the employing your person in, you would think of leaving those counties in the best condition of defence you can, and to draw down your forces towards Gloucestershire or Oxford, if you think good; there to be ready for a communication with his Majesty at his return, who will be able to bring out of these parts, if God prosper us against Essex, so considerable a force as we shall not be out of hopes yet, before winter, under your conduct, to settle our winter station in some fresh quarters of the enemy. This is that which we have in contemplation, but it is wholly submitted to your Highness to do as in your judgment you shall think fit.

I was commanded by his Majesty, to recommend unto your Highness the speedy care of those counties which were under Mennes' command, unfortunately slain. But I now receive advertisement from thence that you have already disposed of that charge to Sir William Vavasour, and I find the gentlemen of that country well satisfied with it.

It is also conceived by his Majesty that it would much secure Newcastle, if your Highness could find means to place Sir Thomas Glenham Governor there, without hazarding the place by discontenting the Mayor in attempting to put him by it.

For what concerns myself I shall not trouble your Highness with any more professions; but as my actions, if rightly understood, might hitherto have preserved me in your favour, so they shall be such ever hereafter, however received, as shall convince you of great injustice if you do not avow me for,

Your Highness's most faithful and
most affectionate humble Servant,
George Digby.

Boconnock, Aug. 15, 1644.

The following lively and amusing letter is addressed to the Governor of Dartmouth, which still held bravely out. It seems to have been written under the influence of the "dish of claret" alluded to therein.—

SIR E. FORTESCUE TO COLONEL SEYMOUR.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

Presently, upon the receipt of your letter, I addressed myself to His Majesty, and made known to him your just, fair, and most necessary desires. His reply to me was, that he wished the thing done, but now he could not possibly spare any horse or foot for the redemption of those parts, from those perjured devils that are now in them. But with this I did not rest satisfied, but, with fury, made it known to some of my friends, who, with zeal in the business, again assaulted the King for a supply. But his answer was the same to them as he formerly gave to me. After which, I met with Sir Thomas Hele, and then we joined forces, and went at it again. But the King was *semper idem;* and yet we did not despair. But, almost disheartened, at last we delivered all to the Lord Hopton, who was tender of it, and promised to do his utmost for our endeavours: who, after much discourse with His Majesty, at last plainly told us that till this argument was thoroughly disputed with Essex, no man could have a placet. This made me almost mad, and then having a dish of claret, I hastily chirped your health, and another to the fair Lady Governess, and then again to the noble Governor, on top; and, after some few rounds, as long as the French spirits lasted, in a merry and undeniable humour, I went to Maurice, of whom I had good words and promises, which again was assured me by Wagstaff—one that loves you. And I am confident I shall prevail very speedily for some horse, either Sir Thomas Hele's, or Sir Henry Cary's regiment.

Sir—Nothing shall be neglected by me in which I may do you service. Ralph can tell you, that in the prosecution of it I was near a mischange on a rotten bridge near the Court, where we are; and what we do I shall leave to honest Ensign Hemmerson's relation. This is the last act of the play. God grant that each man may do his part well. My most humble and ever-best services shall attend you, your fair Lady and yours. This is the unalterable resolution of

Your ever constant and most faithful Servant,
E. Fortescue.

From the army near the rebels in Lestwithiel,
23rd August, 1644.[1]

My service to Major Fitzjames, Cranfield, Turner, *cum multis aliis*, etc.

This Cornish campaign is one of the most unintelligible transactions of the war. We are at a loss which to wonder most at,—the recklessness of the Royal generals or of Essex. The latter ultimately escaped, with Lord Roberts, Sir John Merrick, and some others, passing in a small boat close under Pernon Fort, then held by the careless Cavaliers; his horse escaped right through the Royal foot and Goring's horse, without the loss of a man; and the infantry, without cavalry, leaders, or provisions, were allowed to march away free, on giving up their artillery and ammunition: so anxious were the Royalists to secure even the shadow of a triumph. The King was not sufficiently scrupulous in seeing that the conditions he gave were honourably performed: Skippon and his soldiers were grossly and cruelly insulted in the Royal presence, by his own secretary's account. It is said, indeed, that his Majesty endeavoured to prevent this outrage, but such a statement only proves the utter demoralization of the army. Goring thus writes to Rupert on this occasion: he found his new dignity not comfortable.

---

[1] From his Grace the Duke of Somerset's MSS.

LORD GORING TO PRINCE RUPERT.

[Partly in cipher.]

SIR,

Your Highness will receive an account of your business from the King. This army is now so far from your hests, and so much engaged, that the [illegible] which I solicited for, will be deferred for a time; but I am confident that neither the distractions of this army can be settled, nor we get any great advantage upon the Rebels, until Rupert command us. And I am happy to find, by the King, that he desires and intends nothing more than that; after his controversy with Essex is decided in these parts. In the meantime, nothing in this world troubles me more than the distance I am at from your Highness's immediate command. And I am very confident I am taken from a place where I would have rendered some service to his Majesty and to your Highness, and put into another where I am so much a stranger, that I shall not be very useful till Rupert be with us. And, in effect, this is the most mutinous army that ever I saw; not only horse, but foot: though I believe it is rather their poverty and fear than any general dislike of the remove of officers.

Sir, — I most humbly beseech you to continue the honour to me of preserving a place in your immediate service for me, when this crisis is past, there being nothing in this earth I more passionately desire than to sacrifice my life in your service, and near your person, being by all manner of ties,

Your Highness's most humble faithful Servant,
GEORGE GORING.[1]

---

[1] His officers, on the day of his appointment as their General of Horse, had addressed the following petition to the King:—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE OFFICERS OF YOUR MAJESTY'S OLD HORSE

Humbly sheweth that, whereas they have had long the honour to serve your Majesty under the command of my Lord Wilmot, of whose just and loyal intentions they conceived themselves to have had some demonstrations; but now, to their great amazement almost to distraction, find him fallen into your Majesty's displeasure and suspicion. Although they intend not to arrogate to themselves a liberty of searching into your Majesty's designs, or in the least degree disputing your commands, yet they most humbly beg your pardon, if they believe it a right they owe themselves to request some light from your Majesty concerning this business, that we may not have reason to suspect ourselves partakers of his crime, having been, by your Majesty's order, executors of his commands; and we hope such a satisfaction from your Majesty in this particular as may encourage your petitioners to go on with the same zeal to your service as they have hitherto expressed; in the hazard of their lives and fortunes, and in their prayers for your prosperity, which shall ever be continued from your Majesty's most humble petitioners.

Northampton.
Hen. Harris.
Ric. Power.
Will. Leigh.
Jon. Grove.
W. Slingesby.
Le Chevalier de Reville.
John Clarke.
Edw. Nott.
Will. Chamberleyne.
John Webb.
George Massie.
Robert Knollys.
Tho. Wentworth.
Tho. Weston.
Browne.
Kew. Digby.
Charles Compton.
Philip Honeywood.
Mr. Baskervile.
Jo. Metcalfe.
Will. Fenton.
Tho. Bowens.
James Stokes.
Francis Rainsford.
Will. Whitney.
Roger Parish.
Adrian Scrope.
Paul Smith.
S. Wenman.
Ames. Pollarde.
J. Hervey.
Pat. Barnewell.
David Scrymshawe.
Ric. Weston.
Tho. Fisher.
Henry Fitzwilliam.
Myles Lochard.
Beneger Ware.
Jo. Maring.
John Fleetwood.
Erosh Tillie.
Henry Browne.
Gyles Slany.

Wilmot, however, was well avenged. Goring was deep in one of his brutal carousals, when it was reported to him that Balfour's horse was approaching; he was either too drunk or too indolent to move, and the Roundheads passing on over Exmoor to Dunster, escaped to fight at Naseby.[1]

The King moved on from Lestwithiel to Liskeard, whence he writes the following letter to the Marquis of Worcester, enclosing his royal promise to bestow the Dukedom of Somerset on his Lordship. But Charles was ever thwarted in his desires; the angry feeling that prevailed towards Roman Catholics obliged him to keep this reward to his generous subject in reserve: he did not live to bestow the dignity, and ultimately another title was awarded by his son.

THE KING TO THE MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

WORCESTER,

Yours and your son's daily endeavours to serve me, makes me think which way to give you assurance of my gracious acceptance. And therefore, as a further testimony, I have sent you the enclosed, only known to him and me, and fit—for several reasons of importance to you and me—to be kept private, until I shall esteem the time

---

The King replied very soothingly, premises "that no King ever did owe more to gentlemen and officers:" he asserts that Lord Wilmot, for the last three months, had endeavoured "to bring his Majesty's person into contempt," and had stated that his Majesty intended to place all power in his nephew's hands, which he (Lord Wilmot) would rather join the Parliament than submit to. That Lord Wilmot had proposed to set up Prince Charles as King, and had held traitorous communication with Essex.

[1] Sir Edward Walker's Hist. Disc. p. 117; Clarendon's Rebellion, iv. 546.

convenient, when, as God shall enable me, I will shew my tender care of you and yours; as, by a match propounded for your grandchild, you will easily judge. The particulars I leave to your son, Glamorgan's relation, which I have commanded him to make to you only; and you may be confident that I so much esteem your merits, and your upholding your son in my service (wherein no subject I have equals either of you), as that I cannot think anything too much that lies in my power; though, as yet, some considerations hinder me from doing all I would towards you and yours. But, by your son's endeavours [in my service], I make no question but in short time to pass them so over, as that I shall make good the intentions I have, to manifest that I esteem your services such as my words cannot express them; nor I, but by shewing myself at all occasions, and in all things, to be your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

[Enclosure, prepared some time previously.]

CHARLES R.

Our will and pleasure is that you prepare a bill for our signature, for creating our right trusty and entirely-beloved cousin, Henry, Marquis of Worcester, Duke of Somerset, to him and the heirs male of his body issuing, with all the privileges and immunities thereunto belonging, and with a grant of an annuity of fifty pounds yearly, to be paid to him and them out of our customs of Swansea, in our county of Glamorgan, for the support of the said dignity, for which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court at Oxford, the sixth day of January,
in the twentieth year of our reign.

To our Attorney or Solicitor-General
for the time being.

Lord Glamorgan is now going to Ireland.

WORCESTER,

I am so sensible of the great affection which you and your son have expressed unto me, by eminent services, and of the means he may have of doing me more in that way wherein he is now engaging himself, that I cannot choose, before his going, but express unto you, in a very particular manner, the value I have of you both, and to assure you, that if God bless me, I will not be behind-hand with either of you. In the meantime, finding your son so much more desirous that there should be placed upon you some mark of my favour, rather than upon himself, I have thought fit to let you know that as soon as I shall confer the Order of the Garter upon any, you shall receive it as a testimony of my being,

Your assured constant friend,
CHARLES R.

Liskeard, Aug. 2, 1644.

The King directed his march towards Oxford on the 5th of September; Plymouth was again surrounded, but in vain; Barnstaple was retaken, but obtained honourable terms; Taunton was left blockaded, and the Royal army departed from Devonshire with numbers much diminished, and in cheerless plight both as regarded their moral and physical condition. The King reached Lord Paulet's house, near South Perrot on the 30th of September, and here Prince Rupert joined him. It was agreed in council that the wreck of the Northern army, viz., two thousand horse under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and two thousand foot under Gerrard, should join his Majesty forthwith; that the garrison of Bristol should be recruited and the town strengthened.

From the time that Prince Rupert left York, misfortunes continued to pour in upon him. Every express brought intelligence of new disasters. The forces he had left to follow his more rapid march were continually set upon and harassed by the enemy. Concerning these disasters, I shall only introduce one report from Will. Legge.

My most dear Prince,

In truth, your Highness's departure sent me back hither a sad man, and the news I met with gave me new cause of trouble. My Lord Byron, upon your authority, commanded Sir Marmaduke Langdale so far that he was engaged between the enemy and Liverpool; where they advancing upon him with their army, he had no means of saving his horse, but by retreating over Haleford, and here I met him with all his troops, and an order from my Lord Byron to quarter at Wrexham, where your Highness will easily judge they cannot long subsist. In this retreat from Ormskirk, my Lord Byron, with Lord Molineux's brigade, being fifteen hundred horse, brought up the rear, and engaging himself upon the enemy, when he needed not, received the repulse, his men running and dispersing themselves; they had been totally cut off, did not Langdale wheel, and so stopped the enemy, and after retreated himself without the least disturbance. But of Molineux, Tilsby, and the Lord Byron's regiments, the amount is very short, the few that kept together being here with the rest. Thus your Highness sees, we shall utterly lose the men we have in the North. I despair of any good in Lancashire; who, to divert the war from themselves, have exposed their own quarter to be lost, we to be ruined in our quarters, and this body of horse, who might well have subsisted where they were, to be starved, as they must be if they continue here. Sir Marmaduke hath written to your Highness how he thinks to dispose of himself, and hath been at me for advice, which I dare not meddle in. I beseech God of Heaven to bless you, and I shall be the less troubled at any thing, for I am, with my soul,

Your faithfullest and most devoted servant,
WILL. LEGGE.

Chester, Aug. 22, 1644.

The night your Highness lay at Ruthen, Marrows' horse were beaten, and that regiment dispersed.

Sir John Byron also writes of this action, which, he says, took place "on the spot where your Highness killed the buck as the horse were drawing out." At this time the strong castle of Montgomery was said to be in jeopardy through the lukewarm or wavering affection of the owner, Lord Herbert, of Cherbury. Prince Rupert requested that eccentric nobleman's attendance at Shrewsbury, but he excused himself in the following brief note:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT HIGHNESS,

I shall humbly crave to tell your Highness, that though I have the ambition to kiss your most valorous and princely hands, yet because I am newly entered into a course of physic, I do humbly desire to be excused for the present. Beseeching your Highness, nevertheless, to hold me in your former good opinion and favour, since I am your Highness's most humble and obedient servant,

E. HERBERT.

Montgomery Castle, Aug. 23, 1644.

And a few days afterwards he surrendered the castle to the Roundheads. On the 29th of August, Sir Marmaduke was again beaten at Malpas, and at length with difficulty brought two thousand horse together in quarters in Monmouthshire.

On the 30th, the King writes this reassuring letter to the much misdoubting Prince:

NEPHEW,

I send you herewith the possible remedies for those difficulties you sent me, which obstruct your advance of monies; whereby I am confident you will not only be contented, but likewise satisfied that I can do no more for your supply than I have done in this: and you will find that I have had the like care in the rest, as Digby will particularly inform you, whom I must desire you (for my service' sake, because he is a useful servant) so far to countenance as to shew him a possibility to recover your favour, if he shall deserve it, which I hope he will; and if not, he shall repent it too late. Not doubting that for my sake but ye will make this and a greater experiment; for I assure you that, as to me, you are and shall be capable to oblige any of my servants—but none of them you, or of doing you the least prejudice. And here I must protest to you, upon the faith of a Christian (the reason of this protestation I refer to Robin Legge) that concerning your generosity and particular fidelity and friendship to me, I have an implicit faith in you. This at all times shall be made good by

Your loving uncle and most faithful friend,
CHARLES R.

Boconnock, Aug. 30 1644.

P.S. I send you a cypher of my own making, desiring you to use it if you understand it, as I believe you will, though Waller [Sir Edward] who transcribed it, cannot.

On the 7th of September, I find the subjoined letter from Secretary Nicholas, which gives intelligence of the Roundheads' position and that of the Oxonian troops previous to the second battle of

Newbury.[1] The secretary alludes to the arrival of the Elector Palatine in London; and I find a long statement of his crafty Highness's motives in visiting England, as addressed to both Houses: it consists principally in eulogy of the Parliament and deprecation of his brother's service of the King; in denunciations against "Popish schemes hammered out on Jesuitical anvils," and in profession of his own godly regard for the Protestant religion. We next hear about Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and as follows:—

---

[1] MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

Understanding that your Highness is like to remain some time at Bristol, I held it my duty to tender my humble service to you, and to give you an account of such particulars here as concern his Majesty's service and present affairs, which all the world must acknowledge to have been principally and most vigorously supported by your arm next under God. Basing hath defended itself hitherto, and holds out still very bravely.

Banbury is still close begirt, hath killed and wounded very great numbers of the rebels, and fears not all their power for some months. The works in this town are now made very defensible, so as nothing the rebels can attempt upon us here can hurt us if we be vigilant. We want horse, which render the rebels masters of Abingdon, Reading, Woodstock, and all the country about us, but yet we have here good markets. If we had one thousand horse and five hundred dragoons we could with ease remove or cut off all the rebel's forces in these parts. Sir William Waller is, I hear, at Farringdon, or thereabouts, with about one thousand foot and near as many horse. Massy went Tuesday last out of Gloucester, with about nine hundred horse and foot, towards Bath, and was to have more forces from other garrisons of the rebels under his charge to join with him; these are to join with Sir William Waller's forces, which are to move from these parts, and to march all into the West, Waller being made the rebels' field-marshal-general of the West. Your Highness's

Most humble and affectionate servant,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Oxon, Sept. 7, 1644.

P.S.—I am now certainly assured that the Prince Elector is come to London and lodged at Whitehall.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I am very sorry that I have not better news to present you withal. Upon the delivery of the Castle of Montgomery to the enemy by that treacherous Lord of Cherbury; for the regaining of it and your Highness's powder which was taken at Newton and brought thither, I drew out a considerable force of horse and foot, who marched thither, where they beat Sir Thomas Middleton, and forced both his horse and foot into the castle, and kept them in ten days; and upon intelligence of the enemy's drawing thither for their relief, my Lord Byron came thither with a considerable force, upon Tuesday last, where it was our hap to be beaten yesterday, and the castle relieved. The enemy's forces that came to relieve the castle were commanded by Sir William Brereton, Sir John Meldrum, and Sir William Fairfax, who was there slain. I rest

Your Highness's most obedient servant,
MIC. ERNLY.

Shrewsbury, 19th Sept. 1644.

Sir Michael writes again on the 5th of October, that Redd Castle is besieged, and Lord Powis ill provided, both for provision and ammunition. Also that "the whole country" together is strangely weakened.

Lord Digby next writes thus soothingly. He seems to have somewhat mollified the Prince, but the real state of the matter will soon appear.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

The King has written unto you so fully himself, and I have, by his command, supplied what he omitted, in some particulars, in a letter to Tom Eliott, that there is no occasion of my enlarging your Highness's trouble at this present, further than to assure you of the great comfort and new life, as it were, which it gives to those who have the honour to be trusted by your Highness, to think that our army shall shortly be again animated by your spirit; and that as his Majesty hath endeavoured to make it more worthy of you, by removing those from it against whom your Highness had too just a prejudice, so you are also pleased to receive the disposition to favourable thoughts of those who have been unfortunately misrepresented to you; in which my unhappiness shall hereafter, I hope, serve only to heighten my joy and satisfaction of being owned by you, for what I shall ever be, with all affection and sincerity imaginable,

Your Highness's most faithful humble servant,
GEORGE DIGBY.

Exeter, Sept. 23, 1644.

On the 5th of October, Rupert left the King for Bristol, attended thither by Lords Hopton and Digby; the King promising not to fight until the Prince returned to him with reinforcements of Langdale's and Gerrard's troops.

On the 11th of October, however, the pressing necessities of his four gallant garrisons, Basing, Donnington, Portland, and Banbury, induced the King to put his troops in motion. He writes thus from Blandford:—

THE KING TO PRINCE RUPERT.

[In cipher.]

NEPHEW,

I am advertised by a despatch from Secretary Nicholas, that the Governors of Banbury, Basing, and Donnington Castle must accommodate, in case they be not relieved within a few days. The importance of which place, and, consequently, [illegible] hath made me resolve to begin my march on Tuesday towards Salisbury, where Prince Rupert may rely upon it, the King of England shall be, God willing, on Wednesday next, where I will desire Prince Rupert to come with what strength of horse and foot you can, and the two demi-cannon, many of my men being unarmed. I have sent to Bristol for muskets, which I desire Rupert to speed to me. I desire to hear daily from you, and particularly when you will be with me, and which way you will march, and how strong you can come to

Your loving Uncle, and most faithful friend,
CHARLES R.

Blandford, 11th Oct. 1644.

His Majesty's first movement was towards Longford House and Wilton House to relieve Portland; and then, having had some slight success against Waller at Andover, he was persuaded by Goring, who did not wish to have Prince Rupert, to advance towards Newbury.

At this time Prince Rupert writes to Colonel Legge as follows: his letter throws a curious light on his relation to Digby, and prepares us for the explosion which soon afterwards took place.

DEAR WILL.,

I have desired Arthur Trevor to acquaint you with all our news, and what ammunition you may expect. You may be assured that nothing shall be wanting which may be otherwise, to assist you in those parts, and that you may have a true testimony of it, know that Lord Byron is coming to be the King's Lieutenant-General of horse. Digby and [Rupert cipher] friends, but I doubt they trust one another alike. [Cipher for Digby] makes great professions and vows to Rupert; but it will do no good upon him. Great factions are breeding against Rupert, under a pretence of peace: he being, as they report, the only cause of war in this kingdom. This party is found out, but no particulars proved: they will be, and then the King did promise to punish, or there will be no staying; which else R. is resolved to do, since the King's friends are in no very good condition, and *he hath promised me fair; it is well if half be performed.* The rebels are very weak in foot, and will be easily dispersed if the King lose no time; in a few days I shall discover more of all this before-mentioned, and then you shall have a more perfect relation of all. Pray remember me kindly to the Duke [of Richmond] and Russell, and assure yourself that I am your faithful friend, RUPERT.

Bristol, 16th Oct. 1644.

Pray, make sure of the Bishop of York.[1]

On the 25th, Banbury was ably relieved by Lord Northampton, assisted by Rupert's force from the North; and on the 27th, the Royal army allowed itself to be involved in the second battle of Newbury.

This was one of the worst fought battles in the whole war, which is saying a good deal: Sir Edward Walker, with the King's assistance, makes the best of it in his narration, but there is little to be said for our Cavaliers, and less for their King, on that occasion. That little, however, is here written by Lord Digby to the Prince.

---

[1] This was a very necessary caution, for I find that this intriguing prelate has (in Lord Denbigh's MS. vol. 1. p. 96) been holding Conway Castle for himself, in defiance of Sir John Owen, the King's general.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I have received yours of the 24th, by this bearer, and shall here return your Highness an answer to it, as soon as I have stated unto you our present condition. In my last of Friday night (for yesterday it was impossible to send to you), I wrote unto you that the rebels had drawn all their army within less than a mile of us, between this place and Thacham, with an intent, by all we could perceive, to fall upon us on that side the next morning. I told you, likewise, how advantageously for our defence we had seated ourselves between the two rivers, in the field under the command of Donnington Castle. In the morning, according to our expectations, they placed their batteries, and began to shoot at our passes, and drew down their army towards them, as if they meant presently to give on, but whether our readiness to receive them, or their own uncertainty of counsels, or the backwardness of their men, made them forbear, I know not, but they staid all day, shooting with their cannon, and, as it were, at shall I or shall I not, with their men, and in the evening drew off their main body round to a heath behind Donnington Castle, in the way to Hungerford, where they kept their rendezvous; leaving some cannon and some small forces on that side, where we expected they would have given on. Their design now must necessarily be to come round at a pass, called Bloxford, two miles above Donnington, and either to assault us on that side, or to fasten quarters round us, in hopes to block us up and distress us for provisions. If they intend the first, I make no doubt but we shall be in as good a posture to receive them on that side as on the other, for, indeed, we had yesterday occasion to see that they are very dastardly, and will hardly be brought on. A party of forty of our horse set nigh one thousand of theirs a running, and three shot of cannon made all their foot run away, and leave their colours behind them, where if we could have got over the river, thirty horse might have taken as many colours, [ciphers]. I hope we may be able to subsist here, putting the enemy to much more hard duty than we [unintelligible.] 1, 90, 83, 86, k4, 58, 31, 73, 85, 90, 5, 16, 67, 4, 57, 82, which is longer than I believe they can hold together in the field, in case the weather prove ill. If they remove, we shall be able to take our advantages upon them, or [illegible]. But our resolutions, in this respect, must depend upon the rebels' motions, and accidents betwixt this and the time of your approach to us, which, as I believe, it cannot be hastened before your appointed time, so we firmly hope that it will not fail nor be deferred beyond that time, and that from thence you will make all haste possible. Your Highness may be confident that nothing within my power and industry shall be omitted towards the settlement of the garrison of Bristol, though we meet with many difficulties in it; nor shall I, in any of your commands, fail of that warmth which becomes

Your Highness's most affectionate and most faithful
humble servant,
GEORGE DIGBY.

Newbury, Oct. 27, 1644.

Lord Digby does not speak of his Majesty's precipitate retreat to Bath, nor of the double traitor Urry, who gave the Roundheads their best intelligence. All this time the Prince had been delayed at Bristol, endeavouring to raise a sufficient force to move to the King's assistance. He had despatched Langdale and Gerrard on the 23rd, and they had assisted at the relief of Banbury Castle. At length the Prince was enabled to march with a few hundred men, but when he reached Marshfield, he met Lord Digby's messenger with the above letter, and heard that the King was at Bath. The following notes extracted from his own Diary will describe the rest:—

Oct. 28, 1644.

The Prince marched to Marsfield, and meets one Col. Tuke Haldby, who told him the King would speak with him in Bath; and that he had been beaten at Newbury, that Prince Maurice was with the King in the battle, and they told Prince Rupert that it was feared Prince Maurice was lost. Goring's brother came to the King from Prince Maurice and Goring, and told him all was lost, and gave him counsel to go away, whereupon he went away. The Prince, upon this intelligence, said his brother was not beaten. And so it proved, for he had retreated to Donnington Castle. The King's going out of the field upon this false information, lost that day.

Then the Prince advised to march away for Oxford, to rally the forces, and there they met with Lord Gerrard. And then

November 6, 1644.—The Prince was declared General [generalissimo] of the Army,[1] and Master of the Horse, and then they marched and came to the same place, at Newbury, where the King had suffered that disaster some ten days before. Then we drew up before the enemy; and it was not then thought fit to fight, though the Prince was for it. So we drew off all our cannon. It was suspected, by the Lord Colepepper and others, that the enemy would fall upon their rear. The Prince retained his resolution, and drew off in great order, when a great Lord, that was a young soldier, said it was a Country Dance. But the experienced Prince drew off the army without losing a man.

---

[1] Prince Rupert consented without reluctance to supersede the besotted Lord Brentford; but with great self-denial, he requested the King, for political reasons, to make the Prince of Wales general of England, and that he would command under him.—*Clarendon's Rebellion.*

From thence they came to Malmsbury, and then by the advice of the Earl of Bristol, they would not let the Prince have the command apart; and it was given to the Lord Bernard Stewart, brother to the Duke of Richmond, to the great displeasure of the Prince. But by the persuasion of friends, he submitted, though he was resolved to have laid down his command upon it.

Then succeeded the Treaty of Uxbridge, in which time Prince Maurice was sent into Wales.

The affair at Newbury scarcely deserves the name of a battle; the King's object was obtained without loss; Donnington Castle was relieved, and the King's guns carried thence in safety. The King could not afford to risk a battle, the safety of his empire, the last hope of his kingdom were involved in that little army. It seems unaccountable, however, that the enemy, commanded by Manchester and Waller, should not have forced on an engagement for the same reason that the King's policy was to avoid it. Essex is said to have taunted his old rival, Waller, with his forbearance; and Cromwell inveighed against Manchester, for the same reason; they had both greater reason to do so a few days later, at the third battle of Newbury.

The gallant garrison of Basing House had held out bravely under Lord Winchester, through much privation, and an almost continued siege ever since the summer of 1643. When the Roundheads angrily summoned the fortress, vowing, in case of resistance, not to leave one stone upon another; the commandant replied, "I will not bind myself to repair the walls then, but I will still keep the ground they stood upon." This magnificent place, "that would have become an emperor to dwell in," as Hugh Peters said, remained impregnable until Cromwell's evil might overpowered it, in October, 1645. That ruthless man put its heroic garrison to the sword, plundered it utterly, and left little but its ruined walls to bear witness to the valour of the defenders, and the ferocity of its conquerors.

Rupert appeared before the stout old walls of Basing House on the 11th November, and exchanged compliments with its garrison. On the 21st the Prince attempted to surprise Abingdon, but was repulsed; on the 23rd he entered Oxford with the King who was enthusiastically received after his long absence.

The fortifications had been carefully strengthened since his Majesty's departure: the stores had been well furnished and supplied, and all things seemed to promise rest and security for the winter. The Roundheads, however, lay almost in leaguer round the town. Abingdon was strongly occupied by them, and proved to be a thorn in the side of Oxford. Sir Arthur Aston, lately the Governor of Oxford, had been obliged to suffer amputation of his leg, and was otherwise so ill, that Colonel Gage was appointed to succeed him. This officer was also a Roman Catholic and a gallant man. Sir Arthur Aston denounced him as a Jesuit to the King, but Charles was so painfully inured to calumny that he always leant to the side of the accused. This Colonel Gage proposed to erect a fort at Culham bridge, to check the enemy: he was slain whilst endeavouring, under Prince Rupert's orders, to break down the bridge in order to keep the enemy from the workmen.

This was the last military transaction of the year. Rupert had been made generalissimo of the armies of England and Master of the Horse in November.[1] Goring had combined with Digby in such friendship as he was capable of; each gave the other his confidence, as far as he knew the other was already acquainted with the object of it; each believed himself able to outwit the other, and considered his services essential to his own views: they were only sincerely combined against Rupert, to whom each continued to write letters full of devotion and affection. At this time there are three letters from the Duke of Richmond to the Prince, almost unintelligible from ciphers, which were frequently changed. It appears, however, that "a profound melancholy" had seized upon the young general; that he was well aware of the intrigues hourly weaving against him, and that the sense of his losses seems to have weighed heavily on a spirit that was too proud to communicate its sorrow. He had already experienced one defeat from Digby; he had applied to the King for the Colonelcy of the life-guard, and it had been refused, whilst his friends at Oxford transmitted to his Highness from time to time, reports of the many accusations made against him, and their real or implied consequences. Meanwhile the Prince was engaged at Bristol in raising new levies, in re-organizing his old troops, and in gathering in the innumerable supplies required for an army. The difficulty of his task can only be appreciated by a perusal of his immense correspondence. From every part of England that acknowledged the King's authority (or was unable to resist it), were obtained supplies of the most various descriptions; oakum for "match," brimstone for powder, leather for harness, timber for gun-carriages, cloth for uniform, horses, arms, forage, bread, cheese, beer, and above all—money! But these were to be wrung out of the hard earnings or narrowed incomes of a widely dispersed people: and for this there was no organization but such as Rupert's arrangements rendered effective. All this fiscal and difficult business as regarded Wales, Chester, Shropshire, and the adjoining counties, devolved on Rupert, in addition to his especial duties as Commander-in-chief of the most ungovernable, ill-compacted and now demoralized army that ever appeared in England.[1] In acquiring the vices of the old continental soldiery, these Cavaliers had acquired but little of their discipline, or rather, they had lost any that they at first possessed. This was an inevitable consequence of the King's peculiar position: his want of funds to pay his forces regularly; the necessity he felt himself under of conciliating every officer in any manner that cost nothing; the individual power and influence of most of his superior officers; their jealousies—all these circumstances left the King almost as much without power to punish as to reward. If such were the case with respect to the King, it was much more so as re-

---

[1] See appendix A.

---

[1] Nor was this demoralization by any means confined to the Royalists, though what Mr. Hallam happily calls an "ostentatious dissoluteness" rendered their offences more palpable. In respect of social crimes, however, the Puritan party was not one whit behind the Cavaliers. Take, for instance, the following complaint of a Puritan against the "godly" soldiery; nothing worse, in the way of rapacity, is recorded of the Cavaliers against their deadliest enemies:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX,
LORD-GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

MY LORD,

I was resolved not to have been more troublesome to your lordship for anything concerning myself; but now I see myself lie open not only to be undone by plunder, but myself, wife, children, and servants subjected to the violence and rapine of disordered soldiers, before and in the presence of your captains and officers who commanded them, and plunder in part justified to be allowed the soldier by the captain, when he had no commission to enter my house; two of my servants sore wounded who did nothing to them, in my wife's presence, and she forced to flee to her chamber for rescue, and there a naked sword tendered her by a young ruffian, who called for her and told her he came for money, and, with fearful oaths, that money he would have; and garded Prince Rupert; yet we find that to the last he acquired and maintained over all his officers, an influence paramount to all except that of their own vices. To the last he was able to raise troops and supplies out of the most exhausted districts; to the last his name was a terror to the enemy; and even by his opponents, he was treated with the courtesy that honour and integrity inspire and command.

I have but one more letter to introduce into this year's correspondence; it is from Waller to the Prince, on occasion of an exchange of prisoners. The Roundhead general it must be confessed, writes

---

calling all Romish [women] of Babylon, wherein, I thank God, none with me are guilty. He had his desire in part, for he snatched a purse, with a gold ring and a seal in it, from a servant that was giving some to quiet him. By the way, I beseech your lordship to take into consideration, that the sequestrator gave this commission to one Captain Swaine, to sequester and appraise all my cattle, but not to bring them away; yet he not only drove them away, but gave divers of my coach-horses to one Captain Wood, who set him on work first to do this, and who the last week plundered the same horses and two others notwithstanding. I shewed him your lordship's proclamation against it. I made my address to his colonel, a very civil man, and he caused three coach-horses and a mare to be restored; but the other coach-horse and a pacing nag for my own saddle the captain keeps still; and now, by Captain Swaine's means, he may set up a coach, for he hath all four; and your lordship is well acquainted with our dirty country, that I need not acquaint your lordship that my wife cannot serve God at church with the congregation, but in frosty weather.

Your lordship's humble servant,
John Wolfstenholme.

Nastel, Dec. 22, 1644.*

---

* Memorials of the Civil War, p. 133.

better than most of our Cavaliers, and in quite as good a spirit, too, after his fashion.

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I have had the honour to receive an overture from you concerning the exchanges of Major-General Tillier for Captain Greenfield, and of Rowland Head, corporal, for one George Rolfe; as likewise an offer at large for Sir Charles Lucas. The first, between Major-General Tillier and Captain Greenfield, I humbly conceive to be very unequal, in regard of the wide disproportion between them in point of quality; but if Colonel Weymes might be accepted, either for him or Sir Charles Lucas, I should labour to procure that exchange. So soon as I can possibly inform myself where Corporal Head is in custody, I shall give your Highness an account of his enlargement; and if there be anything further wherein I may serve you (with the reservation of a clear honour), I shall count it for the greatest happiness I am capable of, to be commanded by the title of

Your Highness's most humble Servant,
WILLIAM WALLER.

Nov. 19, 1644.

As a result of this communication, I find the following passport given by Rupert, implying considerable faith in the Regulus honour of the Roundhead.

Having given Captain Greenfield his liberty for ten days, upon his parole, and then to render himself here, at Oxford—To free him to London till ten days, unless Major Potter be meantime exchanged.

RUPERT.[1]

Oxford, 26th Nov. 1644.

---

[1] Tanner Papers Bodleian.

I am tempted to insert here, as apposite, a very characteristic anecdote of this time, told by Sir Richard Bulstrode. It shews the sprightly nature of the subordinate part of the war, and proves that even the Puritan General could enter into the spirit of his former associates.

"This winter General Goring was quartered at Bruton, in Somersetshire, at Sir Charles Berkeley's, an enclosed country, where the villages were thick, and great store of forage for horse. Sir William Waller was then quartered at Salisbury, in Wiltshire, where the villages are thin, standing only in the valleys, some distance from each other. General Goring taking this advantage, sent out parties almost every night, to beat up the enemy's quarters in Wiltshire, which was done with such good success, that in a short time we took many prisoners and colours, which occasioned Waller to write this ensuing letter to General Goring.

NOBLE LORD,

God's blessing be on your heart. You are the jollyest neighbour I have ever met with. I wish for nothing more but an opportunity to let you know I would not be behind in this kind of courtesy. In the meantime, if your Lordship please to release such prisoners as you have of mine, for the like number and quality which I have of yours, I shall esteem it as a great civility, being

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient Servant,

WILLIAM WALLER.[1]

---

[1] Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 120.

A trumpeter (a humble sort of herald who transacted such messages between the hostile camps) arrived with this letter while Goring and Sir Richard were at dinner: "He had been often with us," says the worthy knight, "and was a pleasant droll, this trumpeter," so they told him to wait and he should have his answer after dinner. Meanwhile, a party of horse return from a foray on the enemy, bringing back "five colours and some prisoners of Colonel Popham's regiment." Whereupon Sir William Waller's trumpeter pressed that he might be sent back to his General, else probably he might find his General a "prisoner too." This transaction was followed by a general exchange of prisoners.

Waller was the only general now quite free to act for the Parliament: Manchester and Cromwell had quarrelled at Newbury, Cromwell accused his Lordship of temporising,[1] and above all of giving utterance to a dangerous speech, though in confidence, to him, Cromwell. "We must run no risks," said the aristocrat, "for if we lose this army, the King may march to London and hang us all as mere rebels." The democrat took a very different view of the matter: "We shall do no good," said he, "until we have done away with lords," . . . "and, as to the King, if I met his sacred majesty in battle, I would pistol him as soon as another."[2] This quarrel created a serious difficulty to the Parliament; the more so, as Essex resigned his command, and Lord Warwick, also, alarmed at the turn affairs were taking, laid down his office as Lord High Admiral soon afterwards. In December the "self-denying ordinance" was brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. Zouch Tate, and soon passed into a law. With this ordinance, which precluded any Member of Parliament from holding a command in the army, was let in a liberty of conscience for those who declined to take the Covenant, and this matter very much offended the Scots. The immediate result of this able measure, and its *rider*, was, that Essex received a retiring pension of £10,000 a year,[1] and was rendered negative until his death—two years after: that Manchester was shelved on the Committee; Fairfax was appointed Lieutenant-General, and Cromwell's first step towards despotism was firmly planted.

---

[1] Ludlow, i. 133.

[2] A "thing hardly conceivable to the Presbyterian human mind."—*Carlyle's Cromwell*, i. 217; *Forster's Statesmen*, vol. iv.

The next mention I find of Prince Rupert occurs in Evelyn,[2] who says that—

> A letter being read to the Council from the Earl of Essex, to "His Highness Prince Rupert, General of His Majesty's Armies;" the Council having debated, the King desired the Prince to return this answer:—
>
> FOR THE EARL OF ESSEX.
>
> MY LORD,
>
> I am commanded by his Majesty to desire of your Lordship a safe-conduct for the Duke of Richmond and

---

[1] Hallam's Const. Hist. 1.

[2] Vol. v. p. 217.

the Earl of Southampton, with their attendants, coaches and horses, and other accommodations for their journey to London; during their stay; and in their return, when they shall think fit, from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, at Westminster, to bring to the Lords and Commons of England, and the Commons of the Parliament of Scotland, an answer to the propositions presented to his Majesty for a safe and well-grounded peace. Resting

Your Lordship's Servant,
RUPERT.

Oxon, 5th Dec. 1644.

Which answer was accordingly sent to London by a trumpeter. The following is in the hand-writing of Sir Edward Nicholas:—

That the King and myself, of all the Council Board, were the only persons that concurred not in opinion that it was fitting to call those sitting at Westminster a Parliament. Prince Rupert, though he were present, did not vote, because he was to execute what should be resolved on by this Council. *By the practice of this Council, if the major part agree to any order*, the dissenting councillors are involved, and to be named as if they consented.

E. N.

The result was the Treaty of Uxbridge, begun in that town on the 29th of January, 1645. In the meantime, however, the Parliamentary leaders stained their cause with an act of atrocity that the reddest days of French Republicanism never saw exceeded; the condemnation of the poor old Archbishop Laud, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. It was held to be a great favour that he was only beheaded ultimately.[1] They dared to seek the authority of the Judges for this murderous and wanton deed, but even they, however timidly,[2] professed themselves unable to assist the Parliament in legalizing such atrocity. To Laud himself it was very merciful to take him from the penury, and loneliness, and imprisonment, in which they had long left his gray hairs to whiten; to promote him from the too just imputations of arbitrariness and indiscretion under which he had long lain, to a noble martyrdom on the scaffold. His defence was magnanimous and unanswerable: his dying speech is one of the noblest and most touching that ever preceded a bloody death, and that death itself was but repose to him, and a triumph for his fame."[3]

---

[1] "February 1, 1645." M. de Sabran describes, as an eyewitness, the execution of M. Morsse, a Jesuit priest. This was the death desired for the archbishop by the "godly" democrats:—"He was conveyed to Tyburn on a stage, escorted by the sheriff and fifty horse-guards. Having arrived at the place of execution, he there waited half an hour for the arrival of four wretched men, who had been destined to be hung with him. Whilst the rope was being fixed on his companions, Morsse addressed the people, inveighing against the heresies which had brought down such judgements on the country. The sheriff cut short his discourse; when being confessed, he drew the cowl over his eyes, made a sign to the hangman, the cart was withdrawn, and they remained suspended. His bosom was then laid open, his heart torn out, his entrails burnt, and his body quartered, each part to be exposed on four several gates of London. Though the guards used great efforts to prevent any relics being obtained by the Roman Catholics, many handkerchiefs were dipped in the first blood that gushed from his wound."—*Additional MSS.* 5461, *British Museum*, p. 84.

[2] Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 578.

[3] It was the Presbyterian faction that committed this foul

It may be supposed that the Parliament ran little risk of a peace after thus ushering in the treaty. They were forced by the passionate desire of the people to go through the form of a treaty, but nothing was further from their thoughts. "Without having conquered, they were resolute not to swerve from the utmost rigour of a conqueror's terms."[1]

The Commissioners met, however; one party occupying the "best Inn" at one end of the town, the other the rival Inn at the other end. They exchanged visits with one another; and at length came to the matter in hand. The Parliament insisted that the King should resign the Established Church in favour of Presbytery (this was for the sake of

---

deed: "they wanted at first to have had him hanged, drawn, and quartered."—*Whitelocke.*

"L'Archevêque de Canterbery fût enfin éxecuté Vendredi dernier, et tint à grace de n'avoir que la tête tranchée. Hors de mourir Catholique il ne pourrait mourir plus raisonable n'y plus constant."—*M. de Sabran à M. de Brienne, Jan.* 25, 1644.

[1] Hallam (Const. Hist. i. 583) who adds that "the King more secretly cherished illusive hopes of a more triumphant return to power than any treaty could be expected to effect:" the Parliamentary rulers did not give him an apportunity of betraying his secret intentions whatever they were. Lord Clarendon draws an interesting picture of the debates at this treaty, if not of the treaty itself. The clearness with which the Parliamentary Commissioners, in confidence, foretold the result of a continued war, the pride of Northumberland and Denbigh, the interest of Whitelocke, and the fears of Pembroke and Salisbury, these all combated with their convictions of the penalty their country and their order would have to pay for the obstinacy with which they maintained the Parliament's exacting demands. If there had been one truly great and able man among the Commissioners, fervent for peace, and capable of accomplishing it, both the King and Parliament would have felt themselves in a false position.

the Scots); that he should give up the militia (this was for their own sakes); and that he should crush the Roman Catholics of Ireland under the cruellest enactment of their cruel law (this was for the sake of religion); and, that he should consent to the attainder of his evil counsellors (for the sake of vengeance). The treaty came to nothing. After Naseby, when all seemed lost, the King was offered no sterner terms than these; and if he even *then* "disdained to reign, if it might be so named, the slave of Parliament, with the sacrifice of his conscience and his friends,"[1] how much less was he now disposed to submit to such a destiny, whilst he commanded an army as resolute as that of his enemies. Unfortunately, too, some success had always stimulated his sanguine spirit before every treaty; and now, when the trials and disasters of what his historian called, "his year of happy progress," might have chastened the King into earnestness and truth, Montrose's brief but brilliant victories in the North, had rekindled all his darkened hopes.[2]

---

[1] Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 593.

[2] My limits forbid me to enter on the adventures of this "flower of Cavaliers:" he has been fortunate in his biographers. After his interview with Rupert in Yorkshire, Montrose repaired to the Highlands with one attendant. He there found an Irish body of troops lately landed for the King. They followed him: loyal Highland hearts soon flocked to his standard. He won the battle of Tippermuir, on the 3rd of September, 1644. Elcho and Dundee fell before him soon afterwards. Charles thought that Marston Moor was atoned for, the Scots neutralized, and the North regained.—*See the Legend of Montrose; Napier's Life of Montrose.*

Whether there was any possibility of reconciliation between such opponents as the King and the Close Committee of Parliament, we may doubt. Certain it is that, all the more honest and honourable men of the King's party even among the officers desired it: not only the Duke of Richmond, Lord Southampton, Sir Edward Hyde, and the better statesmen desired peace, but even Rupert anxiously sought to promote it. War seemed every thing to him: he had much to repair, everything to gain by war. War had been his passion from a child up; and, as long as there was a fair prospect of waging it honourably, it would have been the greatest sacrifice to him to abandon it. But no one knew so well as he did the weakness of the King's resources.[1] In endeavouring to disguise and to

---

[1] Take, in passing, this letter from Goring as a proof:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I esteem myself very unhappy to be diverted from the pursuit of a distracted enemy, by that which, of itself, is a greater misfortune, a want of arms, disorder in the train, and an universal deadness and backwardness in the officers of foot to undertake any action without refreshment. I was necessitated to call a council of war, rather to please some of them than to hear them, and I find so many difficulties and objections raised in all things I propose of action, that I shall esteem it a great advancement to your Majesty's service hereafter, if I have the honour to receive your Majesty's positive orders with your own hand to them, and advise with these of nothing but the way to obey them. But, sir, I have such assurances from all the officers of foot, that after their arms are fixed and their men refreshed, they will be ready for any action, in any place; and the soldiers of horse and foot are so willing to fight, and the officers of horse so tractable in all things, plunder excepted, that if your Majesty please to give this month to the desire of the army, and suffer us to remain together, with repair that weakness he had brought upon himself that odium and responsibility which others profited by, yet escaped from. He forwarded this Treaty by every means in his power, and *deplored its failure.* This much, and unfortunately no more, I can collect from a very difficult and almost illegible cipher letter of the Duke of Richmond.

It is time to look round, and observe something of what is going on through England during this time. In the west Wyndham writes unjustly against Hopton as below;[1] and in the North there has been an attempt at treachery in Newark.

---

such orders for the recruiting these forces out of the West as your Majesty was pleased to command, I am very confident we shall be above six thousand horse and foot in good order, besides a garrison in Christchurch. But as I do most humbly beg a positive order from your Majesty for my undertakings to dispose the officers more cheerfully to conduct them, so I do most humbly assure your Majesty, that the least intimation of your Majesty's pleasure is sufficient to make me run through all manner of difficulties and hazard to perform my duty, and the acknowledgments of a person and family entirely and faithfully devoted to the service of your sacred Majesty. Your Majesty's

Most humble, most dutiful, and most obedient servant,

George Goring.

Farnham, 9th Jan. 1645.

[1] May it please your Highness,

I lately wrote unto you that you might receive a perfect account of the state of his Majesty's affairs in this county, more particularly in relation to what hath been acted here since my Lord Hopton's coming into this county, where I was absolute master of the field, and I did believe myself strong enough to beat the enemy out of the country, for I was resolved to have attacked him in his head-quarter at Taunton; but since his Lordship's coming, our strength is so diminished that we must retreat, and the enemy grown so bold that he makes out quarters at a large distance from the town, and possesseth himself of the

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

Upon my coming to Newark, I found the enemy gone from Southwell and all parts beyond the river where they had infested us, having only removed their quarters a little further off; and no doubt if there was that care requisite taken within us, we should not fear so much without. There was very lately a damnable plot for the betraying of this garrison: Captain Clay, the chief, apprehended,

---

best part of this county. His Majesty did sufficiently understand me before he went out of this town, that I would not serve under my Lord Hopton, who had disobliged me. And therefore it seems strange to me that his Majesty, unless he had a mind to disturb his own business, that he should thrust his Lordship upon me to out me of all command when I was in the field with four thousand men to oppose the enemy. I do believe your Highness is of opinion that this did trouble me, and all those officers that were with me to see me outed of all command, and new officers put upon them without any signification of his Majesty's pleasure or civil respect done to me. Yet I have been so far from taking any notice of this, more than in private discourse, that I have proffered to consent to anything that may advance his Majesty's service as shall be agreed on by a council of war. But I, seeing that there is nothing aimed at but the dispossessing of me of my force, to make a command for my Lord Hopton, and his reformado* officers, Sir Foulk Huncks, Sir Francis Mackworth, and the rest; and that with these, he and the Commissioners must join to advance these impossible projects, am resolved that I will go into my garrison, that I may, in despite of those that strive to ruin the King's business, preserve for him what I am able. And if his Majesty will but assign me the absolute command of my own town, and hundreds belonging thereunto, I doubt not but to be able to give him a better account of my endeavours for his service, than all these vast undertakers shall be able to do. Whatsoever your Highness shall direct I shall submit unto, and you may give his Majesty this assurance, that no usage whatsoever shall make me less humbly and faithfully to serve him, but I cannot serve him against my own reason, nor place the affection of all my friends where he will dispose them. I am, in all things,

Your Highness's most humble and most obedient servant,

Chard, 6th Jan. 1645. EDMOND WYNDHAM.

---

* "Unattached."

and divers others fled upon it; and I dare justify it with my life there is no other way to prevent that, or such like miscarriages, but by continuing your Highness's resolution to settle these parts by some person of gallantry, knowledge, and integrity. I humbly beseech your Highness to give me leave to acquaint you with that, which indeed ought not to be concealed, that Lieutenant-Colonel Whichcote, who came down with me bringing a letter to Sir Richard Byron, from his mother the Lady Byron, who lyeth in Merton College [Oxford], which letter opened of itself, being slightly made fast by a cover of paper, wherein these words amongst others were, that she was told that Prince Rupert had joined in commission with him for the government of Newark, Rhodes, the minister; and if it be so, she advised him either not to suffer him to govern there, or to give up his commission; besides, she added, "there are governors in these parts who will not give up their government, but keep their government against Prince Rupert's will. I shall use all means to cross Rhodes's desire, and I would advise you to get Sir Jervase Clifton and the rest of your friends to write to the King or Prince Rupert that they will not have Rhodes to govern there." This letter, and these very words, being copied out by us, came to the governor's hands, which I shall be ready to justify by Lieutenant-Colonel Whichcote and myself with our lives and salvation, all which your Highness in your wisdom will make use of.

I beseech your Highness to give me leave to come home nearer to the preservation of this place once more, that unless there be some speedy course taken, this garrison will never be sufficiently victualled by our government here, the enemy taking just occasion of advantage by our nakedness, as well of the understanding part for government as victual. There either hath, or will wait on your Highness, a gentleman, one Major Wheeler, from Newark; I beseech your Highness to examine him strictly upon his reputation, of the condition of these parts; and particularly of the carriages of our forces, drawn out when the enemy went from Southwell, from Friday, the 3rd of January, to the Wednesday after; and I am confident, however some here may attempt the biassing of him to represent things their own way, yet he hath so much known gallantry, that he will give your Highness full satisfaction therein, he being personally engaged in all that action. As for that commission your Highness was pleased to give me, and which I left with you, I do with all readiness and humility submit it and myself to your Highness's wisdom, and if my appearing in it may in the least manner prejudice his Majesty's service, I desire it may never be thought upon more; only be pleased to give me leave to add, that whoever they are that may blast it or me, are they who never served his Majesty with that zeal and fervour as I have ever done, without the least ends of mine own: and, if your Highness be pleased to give credit so far to me, you may safely believe no man more able and faithful to give a just account of all the carriages here unto whomsoever your Highness shall command hither. This being all I have at present to trouble your Highness, with humble desire of your Highness's pardon for this honest presumption, I shall remain ever

Your Highness's most obedient faithful servant,
JOSEPH RHODES.

May it please your Highness to give me leave to take such notice, that just upon the dispatch of these, Major Wheeler being employed to this end, that Sir Richard Byron should write and be desirous of some other to command abroad, but himself continue his command within the walls; herein also give me leave to speak with all clearness, and that from the mouths of the best and chiefest officers, that his Majesty's service cannot be done, but we necessarily destroyed if both one and other be not . .

. . . hands of some able to manage it ; but this is the device of our Commissioners, who do nothing wherein their own in— . . . . . .

For Prince Rupert's Highness,
Newark, Jan. 10, 1645.

There was some repose for the wearied soldiers during the Treaty of Uxbridge, and for some time afterwards, whilst the "newly-modelled" army was organizing under Fairfax and Cromwell at Windsor.

Prince Maurice had been appointed to fill Prince Rupert's place in the government of Wales, but without the title of President: he writes from Evesham this note on the 16th of January:—

Dear Brother,

Since my coming to this place, I received letters of credence, by the hand of Mr. Dudley Wyatt, from the Commissioners of Salop to you directed. I shall not need mention the state of the business, in respect Mr. Wyatt, whom I have stayed here, will give you, in writing, a particular account thereof. I have been lately informed, that Sir Nicholas Byron pretends an interest to the Government of Chester, and shall therefore desire your special order and direction for the placing of one there. I desire, likewise, you will be pleased to give order that my Regiment of Horse may be sent to me. All that I shall say more is, that I am

Sir, your loving brother,
Maurice.

In the next letter we have the first palpable sign of Goring's intrigues: it appears that he applied to the King, who seems to have been infatuated about these reprobates, for a command independent of the

Commander-in-Chief. This favour the King weakly bestowed, and Rupert resented openly to Goring himself. That accomplished dissembler thus replies:—

SIR,

Your Highness is pleased to think yourself disobliged by me, for desiring my orders under the King's hand. As I remember, sir, the reason I gave his Majesty for it, was the having more authority by that to guide the Council of this army to his obedience; and one reason I kept to myself, which was, I found all my requests denied by your hand, and therefore desired my orders from another. As for having made means, under-hand, to get an independent commission from His Majesty, I assure you, sir, I never did. And if I find myself so unhappy as, for want of your favour, to be disenabled to serve His Majesty in this charge, I shall think it easier to resign my command than to lessen yours. And, sir, whereas I hear your Highness accused me for desiring your orders at the same time I did the King's, truly, sir, I did not think them inconsistent, and though I begged that honour from the King, yet till it were granted, I remained under the same obligation I was formerly, which was to address myself to your Highness for orders; and being in the same condition at this present, I shall beseech your Highness not to attribute the applications I make to you, to a mean courtship, but to my obedience to the King, and respect to his Nephew and my superior Officers.

Your Highness's most dutiful and obedient Servant,

GEORGE GORING.

Salisbury, 22nd January.

On the 26th of January I find this copy of the Prince's brief note to Essex concerning the Uxbridge commissions:—

PRINCE RUPERT TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

MY LORD,

I have received by Sir Peter Killigrew, the safe contents which your Lordship sent. The Lords and others appointed by his Majesty for the Treaty, will not fail to be at the time and place agreed upon.

I remain your Lordship's servant,

Oxford, 26th Jan. 1645. RUPERT.

Prince Maurice is now settled at Worcester in a much higher command than he was well fitted to discharge. He has summoned a meeting of the associated counties:—

DEAR BROTHER,

The only business we are now upon, is to settle the garrison at Evesham, wherein I meet with many difficulties. After I have done my best in that, I shall proceed to what concerns the army. In order thereunto, the Commissioners of the Associated Counties of Worcester, Hereford, Salop and Stafford, have appointed to meet here on Thursday next. According to our proceedings, I shall not fail to give you constant advertisement, which you may please to present to his Majesty. The Governors of Lichfield and Dudley Castles,[1] received your letters very lately, and did immediately thereupon prepare themselves to attend you; but, being reconciled to each other, I directed them to return to their garrisons until they should receive your further commands. The late Governor of this place [Sir William Russell] died yesterday; which is all I have to say, but that I am,

Sir, your loving Brother,

For my dear brother Prince Rupert,
Prince Palatine, &c. MAURICE.

---

[1] Bagot and Lord Loughborough, between whom there was a bitter feud: the former was soon killed.

Like most unsuccessful rulers, Prince Maurice attributes his want of capacity to want of power. He thus writes on the 29th of January:—

DEAR BROTHER,

I shall not need to mention any other particular than that which concerns the enlargement of my commission, and therein I desire no farther latitude than the same from you which you had from the King, which is absolutely necessary for the performance of what is expected from me; for the gentlemen of Staffordshire desired such a Commission from me, for the regulating and ordering the affairs of that county, as you granted to Shropshire. And it is probable those of other counties will desire the like, or to have theirs renewed upon occasion. I told those of Staffordshire they should have such a Commission, but I have not as yet power to grant it, though I would not let them know so much.

I refer all to the relation of Sir Richard Cave, and desire that the particulars, considerable, may be speedily advised upon by such as His Majesty and yourself shall think fit. I have no more to say but to desire you to be very careful in the business of the Association, which, I fear, tends much to the destruction of military power and discipline. For there are some cunning men amongst them, to whom nothing of these papers must in any means be communicated. I mean especially the observations upon the propositions of the Association. So I rest, and I am

Your loving Brother,
MAURICE.

Worcester, 29th Jan. 1645.

From the depths of Wales comes the next letter. Its writer no less a personage than the Archbishop of York, whom we have already seen taking his leave of the King, when his Grace fled before young Hotham to his native country for security. Here he had stoutly fortified his castle of Conway against intruders, whatever was their party. His old imperious habits, too, have found room for exercise in these simple and docile wilds, and Archbishop Williams has got into great difficulties with the Royal commanders in those parts.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

From these rumours, which Sir John Mennes and his men spread abroad, in ale-houses up and down the country, of your Highness's being offended with me, to give me leave to appeal to your Princely wisdom and justice, and to the universal testimony of all these three counties (not above three men excepted in them all) how true and faithful a servant I have been to the King, your Highness, and the security of these poor counties. And to believe this to be true, until the contrary shall be made to appear—not by Sir John Mennes and Mr. Wyatt, who want some person to bear their own aberrations, or the clamours of soldiers for money, in a country where, whatsoever your Highness is informed, it is not to be had, by reason we have no free sale of cattle: but from the attestation of the Commissioners of Array, the Justices of the Peace, and gentlemen of the three counties.

And then, I am assured it will appear, by the constant obedience of these poor counties to His Majesty, their extraordinary love and affection to your Highness, their being so free from all malignancy, to the great sorrow and regret of some that would be plundering, that heretofore I have surely done His Majesty and your Highness some better offices than Sir John Mennes was able to do in these parts. Howbeit, of late, I have forborne to do anything at all, as I am resolved to abstain, until I shall have the honour to wait upon your Highness, and a passage opened whereby I may do it.

In the meantime, I humbly crave your Highness's favour to receive the Petition of our poor [cattle] Drovers (the Spanish fleet of North Wales, which drings hither that little gold and silver we have), against the oppression of Sir Michael Woodhouse, and to procure them that relief, which your Highness conceives to be just and fitting, and to preserve in your Highness his good opinion.

Your Highness's most faithful and
most humble Servant,
THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

From your Highness's garrison town of Conway,
29th January, 1645.

Very few of the numerous complaints of our Cavaliers are worth listening to now, if, indeed, they ever were so; but the following is so full of dismal humour, and the Cavalier spirit that could scoff even at its own miseries, that I do not hesitate to insert it:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

This last night came to me of the Queen's regiment, to share with me in Rifsgate hundred: they shewed me your Highness's order, and, indeed, I received another to the same effect, which I have sent back again to your Highness; resolving to keep nothing by me that shall hang me. Indeed the commander of the party, so soon as he saw my strength in horse and foot, and how environed with enemies, blushed to see the unreasonableness, and asked me how many hundreds I had besides; which, when I truly informed him, out of mere pity he left the hundred. I am sorry, sir, to see myself pitied of a stranger I never saw before, and your Highness so little value me. I 'm sure 'twas otherwise when you first sent me hither, then you were pleased to give me all Rifsgate hundred, and so soon as I sent you a list of the state of the garrison, I should be allotted more. God have mercy upon me, for I see your Highness will leave me; yet I shall once more look up to heaven and send in my list. What horrid crime have I committed, or what brand of cowardice lies upon me and my men, that we are not thought worthy of a subsistence? Shall the Queen's seventy horse have Westmester hundred, Tewkesbury hundred, and God knows what other hundreds, and yet share half with me in Rifsgate, who has at this very present a hundred horse and five hundred foot, besides a multiplicity of officers? Sir, at my first coming hither, the gentry of these parts looked upon me as a man considerable, and had already raised me sixty horse towards a hundred, and a hundred foot, and were continuing to raise me a greater number. But at the sight of this order of your Highness, I resolved to disband them, and come up to Oxford, where I'll starve in more security. But finding my Lieutenant-Colonel forced to come to your Highness, and to tell you his sad condition; whom I find so well prepared with sadness of his own, that I cannot but think he will deliver my grievances rarely. As I shall find myself encouraged by your Highness, I will go on, and raise more forces. Ever submitting all my proceedings to your Highness's orders, bar starving, since I am resolved to live.

Your Highness's most humble servant,
R. Howard.

Camden, Jan. 30, 1645.

As a specimen of the manner in which supplies were procured, I add a neighbourly and somewhat vague requisition from two of the Committee of the Associated Counties, and the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Shrewsbury:—

MR. BURTON,

We desire you to deliver as much hay as comes to fifty loads, or as much as you can possibly spare, it being for his Highness's use, and we will see you paid out of your contributions, or otherwise, to your content. We rest,

Your affectionate friends,
FRANCIS OTTLEY & Co., RICHARD LEE,
MICHAEL ERNLY, R. LEVESON,
THOMAS EDWARDS, FRANCIS SANDFORD.

For our loving friend Francis Burton, Esq.
at Longneas. Nast. these.[1]
Feb. 3, 1645.

These requisitions, and others far more severely worded and enforced, produced the estrangement of once loyal Shrewsbury, and it was finally betrayed to the Parliament.[2]

---

[1] For this letter, and otherwise, I am indebted to the Rev. Henry Burton.

[2] This town was disgracefully surrendered, having been first disgracefully betrayed. The garrison only made terms for themselves as English troops: they abandoned the Irish to the butchery of the Parliament officers, who immediately hanged every man of them.—*Owen Blakeway's Hist. of Shrewsbury.* The loss of this important town was scarcely compensated by the gain that Sir Lewis Dives announces; especially as Weymouth was recovered soon afterwards "through the usual carelessness of the King's officers."—*Clarendon.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I have, by God's blessing upon my weak endeavours, reduced Weymouth again under your Majesty's obedience. The manner how this service was performed I have taken the boldness to send unto Prince Rupert's Highness, that from his hand it may receive the better acceptation from your gracious Majesty, and to help the defects of the relation, I have likewise sent Major Stroud, a gentleman who was present at the action, to give your Majesty a more large and punctual account thereof. Sir Walter Hastings, the governor of Portland, who was the foremost man that entered their works, I have left there to command in my absence, intend-

The following letter from an old and confidential friend of Prince Maurice tells of the loss, and of its causes:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I intended to have made use of Major Fox's and Sir William Russell's Horse, quartered near Shrewsbury, to go through to your brother; but, half-way there, I met those Horse coming this way, who told me the sad news of the loss of Shrewsbury, which they say was betrayed by the townsmen. There are some gentlemen come hither who were there after the town was entered. Amongst others, Major Butler, in coming he escaped after he was hurt. The Castle is yet held by the Governor; but, as they say, not at all provided of victuals. *I wish your brother had some experienced commanders by him.* I do not hear of any one but old Rŏan. And now, I neither know myself, nor can I learn from others, how I may possibly pass to your brother. I mean, God willing, instantly to hire messengers at any price, to go to his Highness. I have spoken with Sir Robert Howard, and some other gentlemen. They are agreed to use their power in raising the country, if any considerable number come together, I will wait upon the gentlemen, with such as will follow them towards Shrewsbury. It may work something if the Castle can but hold out, as I hope it will.

---

ing speedily to return to take the charge thereof into my own hands as the fittest place for my residence, and of greatest consequence to be carefully kept; wherein I have already taken such care to secure it, that, by God's assistance, I shall not doubt to keep it for your Majesty's service against the best army which the rebels can bring before it; from whose wicked and traitorous practices I shall beseech the Almighty to preserve your sacred Majesty, and shall ever, to the utmost of my life and fortunes, continue your Majesty's

Most loyal subject and humblest servant,

Sherborne, 13th Feb. 1645. LEWIS DIVES.

I have not time to write in ciphers. If I had, I should say more; for all, besides this, is not so well as I could wish, nor yet, I hope, so bad as some would make me believe. I shall adventure my letters to your brother to that purpose, as your Highness commanded me. I am much unsatisfied in their stay there where they are.

I am, Sir,
Your Highness's most humbly devoted Servant,
RICHARD CAVE.

Ludlow, Feb. 15, 1645.

The next notice of this luckless Prince tells badly for his popularity as a commander.

[Seal] Whereas divers Officers and Soldiers of my Army have deserted their colours without leave or parole, to the great prejudice of his Majesty's present service; these are therefore to will and require you, with all diligence, to make enquiry for such offending soldiers, and them to take up and send to their colours again, to my army, wheresoever the same shall be. And in case any refuse to repair to their colours, to commit them to safe custody, to answer for such their offence. Hereof you are not to fail at your peril.

Given at Ruthin, this 17th of February, 1645.

MAURICE.[1]

To all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Commissioners of Array, Constables, and all others his Majesty's officers, whom it may concern, of North Wales.

Prince Maurice made a tour into the interior of Wales to raise forces and compel contributions, and thence returned to Chester to restrain Sir William Brereton, Mitton, and Langham, who were beginning to menace Chester as a blind to their descent upon Shrewsbury. He or his advisers had the good sense to make a brave and honourable Welshman his Major-General.[1]

---

[1] From Mr. Ormsby Gore's MSS.

To this officer, who was afterwards condemned to die by the Parliament, Prince Maurice writes on the 23rd of February:—

TO SIR JOHN OWEN, MAJOR-GENERAL AT WREXHAM.

SIR,

Notwithstanding the order I sent unto you this afternoon, I desire you only to draw your men together at Wrexham, which I have since appointed to be the rendezvous for the army. The enemy [Brereton] is drawn back again, and to desire you to have a care of your quarters.

MAURICE.[2]

The Prince Maurice's letters are so few I subjoin two more, which contain all that need be known of this "alarum" of the enemy long ago.[3]

We are now brought back to Prince Rupert at Oxford by the following despatch from Essex, who is as yet still General of the Roundheads. It affords

---

[1] Sir John Owen.

[2] Mr. Ormsby Gore's MSS.

[3] SIR,

I would have you draw unto Wrexham the two companies impressed and raised out of Denbighland, under the command of Captain Hugh Wynne and Captain John . . . . ., which companies you are not to put into any regiment until you shall receive orders for the same from Your affectionate friend,

MAURICE.

For Sir John Owen, Knt. my Major-General,
Chester, 7th March, 1645.

SIR,

I have this day received intelligence that the enemy have an intent to force their passage into Wales, either by Hoult Pass or some of the fords; wherefore I would have you draw all your another proof of the courteous tone that prevailed between the leaders:—

SIR,

I have received from your Highness, by this bearer, a letter, wherein I must acknowledge your favour, and had likewise a copy of a letter of the same bodies,[1] from the Marquis of Hertford, but desire much the original. I would have sent your Highness the pass for Sir Arthur Aston[2] and his servants, with necessaries, at this time; but in regard I shall grant it to Bath, for the recovery of his health and not to West Chester, I forbear it, until I know whether your Highness will accept of it, which if you do, I doubt not but the pass granted him to go beyond the seas will be returned.

Your Highness's humble servant,

Feb. 28, 1645. ESSEX.

The state of Wales was rapidly deteriorating; loosening altogether from its allegiance, not to the King but to his commanders; it had no desire for

---

foot together, and to be at the rendezvous on Common Wood at four o'clock this afternoon, where you are to expect further orders from me, and that when you are drawn together you send me an exact list of your number of foot.

[Signed] MAURICE.*

For Sir John Owen, Major-General of the Army.
Chester, March 3, 1645.

[1] The letter alluded to was from a Mr. Pyne, a vehement Roundhead, to Colonel Popham, in which the writer vehemently and bitterly abused Essex, the Scots, and the King. This letter was intercepted by Sir Lewis Dives, and came, in good time, to be communicated to the Commissioners at Oxford.—*Clarendon's Rebellion*, v. 68.

[2] Sir Arthur had been obliged to have his leg amputated, and was now invalided. He was afterwards slain at Drogheda, in cold blood, by Cromwell.

---

* Mr. Ormsby Gore's MSS.

Parliamentary rule. Rupert is obliged to look after this matter amongst others ; he has likewise to visit all the neighbouring garrisons, and all those surrounding Oxford. Also, there are the wild clubmen of Dorsetshire, who have risen for the King, or rather against the Parliament, and he has to settle with them too. He must then proceed to Ludlow to organize and collect such scattered forces as the King's name had yet power to raise. When we consider that on the one hand, were the Parliament, with the wealth of London at its disposal, with the ablest heads and bards of England to direct and control the great spirit of enthusiasm that their arts had inspired — that on the other side, there were only such villainous instruments as Goring and Grenville in Devonshire, the young Prince of Wales and his despised Council at Bristol, the King almost powerless at Oxford, that all the rest depended on Rupert, we must admit that this Prince must have exhibited immense powers of organizing and controlling, to enable him to oppose such adversaries. The following letter from him occurs here :—

PRINCE RUPERT TO COLONEL LEGGE.

DEAR WILL,

I fear that all Wales will be in rebellion, if not speedily suppressed.[1] It will be impossible for me to check this business, as I am opposed by a powerful enemy; unless the King resolve to take the field. I do not see how my brother Maurice and I can join, but I will try. I must stay here about six days, at all events. Let me know what ammunition I am to expect, and when. There has been a meeting here among the Generals principally; but they got nothing by it. So name this only to the Duke of Richmond and the Council. Hasten the [Artillery] train, and clothes for the soldiers, and assure yourself that I am Your most faithful friend,

---

[1] "Verie sadd newes" was lately come from Wales that Tenby Castle was taken, and all that country round had fallen into the hands of the enemy, as well as those parts lost by Shrewsbury's capitulation.

RUPERT.

Ludlow, March 18, 1645.

His absence reopens the correspondence from the Court. The chief measure now in agitation is the separation of Prince Charles from his father. The King begins to feel that nothing but his blood will satisfy the patriots in London: but he conceives that as long as his successor be still safe, the Revolutionists will have less motive to desire his own destruction. The Prince was, therefore, to be despatched to the West, invested with supreme command, but controlled by his Council. With his Royal Highness went the best and truest of the King's friends, the Duke of Richmond, Hyde, Colepepper. It was a fatal arrangement in every respect. The King, no doubt, considered himself well able to act without such advice as that which he affectionately devoted to his son; but the reader who takes an interest in the monarch's mournful history trembles to see his easily guided mind delivered over to such influences as those of Digby and Ashburnham. These dangerous men, and their confederate Goring, alone rejoiced in the Prince's departure, as he took away with him their most honest opponents. Rupert frankly and vehemently deprecated the arrangement, but Digby had now fascinated the King, and ruled supremely. These observations are necessary to the understanding of the following letter from the Secretary of State: "the mad misfortune" of Goring was the loss of Weymouth, owing to the reckless and debauched conduct and supine negligence of that officer.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

The letters which you were pleased to send to my brother-secretary, from Stowe, and which, through his sickness, were given to me by his Majesty, serve only to let his Majesty, and all those that have the honour to serve him, see how much you value his service, that are pleased so frankly and so readily to undertake in person such a difficult task as you are now engaged in, in those distracted countries. But as you are pleased to do your part so nobly, I hope we shall do our duties here as diligently in all things that may concern your service, especially in that of powder for which the orders are doubly repeated since Dabscourt's[1] going. I send your Highness here inclosed such letters as have been received from Hereford, wherein you will see how necessary it is that timely and vigorous remedies be applied to that growing mischief, wherein it is not doubted but your wisdom will direct you to the properest course.

Since your Highness's going, my Lord Hopton is come hither, and having represented unto his Majesty the state of the garrison of Bristol, it is, upon a full debate at the

---

[1] For Dabridgecourt.

Committee which your Highness was wont to honour with your presence, thought fit to be represented unto you, as most necessary to the support and improvement of the garrison of Bristol whither the Prince of Wales is tomorrow going, that the establishment be observed, as well to Berkeley Castle as the rest, according as was at first settled. I confess it was not my opinion when I last spoke with your Highness upon the argument; neither was it my Lord Treasurer's [Ashburnham], as may appear by our letters to my Lord Hopton, upon occasion of his resenting the alteration; but indeed we are both converted, upon full consideration of the arguments and objections on both sides; so that I believe Sir Charles Lucas will hardly think that place a command worthy of him. In case your Highness shall be of our opinions, with the reasons of which I shall acquaint your Highness at large, if your own reflections upon the matter do not satisfy you. But if your Highness shall think fit, that the said garrison of Berkeley be continued in its former dependence upon the establishment of Bristol, so as Sir Charles Lucas shall decline the command; I shall then humbly offer unto your Highness's consideration, whether you will not think Mr. Richard Weston, the Lieutenant-Governor, worthy to be made Governor of that place; who, as he is a very gallant man, so is he a very modest man also, and who, I suppose, will content himself with the former moderate allowance, and not enter into contestation for more. Thus much I am commanded, and I do humbly offer unto your Highness. This enclosed to your Highness from General Goring, which the King opened, was received the last night. I profess, sir, I have not patience to discourse of the unlucky subject of it; so mad and so wild a misfortune was never heard of, wherever the fault light. I shall only give you an account of the orders sent by his Majesty to General Goring thereupon, which you will find in the enclosed copy of his

Majesty's letter to him, which was accompanied with a second peremptory order to Sir R. Grenville, in pursuance of your Highness's former directions to him, to march away from Plymouth, leaving it well blocked up. It was the only course that could be thought here, either rational or probable, to repair that loss. This is all the trouble at present from

Your Highness's most affectionate humble servant,

George Digby.

Oxford, March 5, 1645.

P.S.—Although the King hath written unto your Highness himself, concerning my Lord Loughborough, and that my brother-secretary hath written unto you more at large, yet I am commanded, likewise, to recommend unto your Highness's consideration, the great importance to his Majesty's service that his Lordship be not sent home discontented, as here he appears to be highly.

The subjoined letter relates to one of the few successes that broke the mournful monotony of this spring.[1]

---

[1] May it please your Highness,

Colonel Mason was importunate to wait on your Highness with such letters as were to be sent from the officers of the Northern Horse, but finding him very slow in a case of that importance, I sent this gentleman to receive orders from your Highness whether we shall come unto you; we are now at Bingham, and intend to march on towards Shrewsbury, as your Highness sent us orders, if I receive no other order to the contrary. For the success of our march it hath been prosperous beyond expectation; we routed Rosseter's forces at Melton Mowbray, and drove the Yorkshire forces from Kelford to Doncaster, and from thence to Pontefract, where we had a sharp and long conflict with them, but God gave us the victory; we killed two hundred and odd, took five hundred prisoners, there were drowned five hundred. Above twenty colours, thirty-four barrels of powder, one piece of cannon, are taken, besides a great store of all manner of ammunition and arms, but there are letters coming to your

The Prince of Wales is now gone to Bristol, under Lord Hopton's especial care, Lord Berkshire's nominal governance, and his council's direction. The South-western counties had associated themselves "for peace, and for the King," and the Prince of Wales was specially their general. His own forces consisted of two imaginary regiments, quaintly described by Lord Clarendon as *to be* raised by Lord Capel, and at Lord Capel's cost.

His Royal Highness lived at Bristol at Lord Hopton's expense, the King "having not one penny in his exchequer to bestow upon him."

Prince Rupert is still hastening his preparations at Ludlow.

PRINCE RUPERT TO COLONEL LEGGE.

DEAR WILL,

I have received but one despatch in return for three sent. Hasten the ammunition. I shall not want pikeheads; there are two thousand three hundred at Worcester. I *must* have stores or money. Sir Marmaduke Langdale [with the Northern Horse] is come to Bridgenorth. On Thursday we meet at Wellington; on Friday [cipher Rupert] and Maurice will join, if possible, near Ellesmere.

Highness that will relate the business more at large, we have accomplished our desire in the relief of Pontefract castle, and find the country infinitely willing to come in if we might have staid, but we all are, and ever will be, at your Highness's command, whereof one is your Highness's

Most faithful and humble servant,
MAR. LANGDALE.

Bingham, 6th March, Thursday,
4 of the clock, 1645.

[After this victory Sir Marmaduke proceeded to Bridgenorth.]

If this succeed there will be some hopes left. Dabscourt writes the powder is stopped in Monmouthshire, where they are associating [against us], and will send no carriages. Therefore, you at Oxford must look to them. I am going about a nobler business; therefore pray God for me, and remember me to all my friends.

Your assured Friend,

Ludlow, March, 11, 1645. RUPERT.[1]

Prince Maurice is at Chester, misusing the lingering loyalty and patience of those parts, and injuring every one except the enemy. All this, however, was done by him with the best intentions; he was only that most hurtful of all characters, a man of weak judgment and strong impulses. Prince Rupert himself is not sanguine about his brother's success; nor had the appointment been of his proposing. The "affairs in the West," alluded to in the following letter, are the blockade of Taunton by Windham, and the disputes between the truculent Grenville and the scoundrel Goring. Rupert's heart is still high, and he has still a soldier's confidence in the power of his will.

PRINCE RUPERT TO COLONEL LEGGE.

DEAR WILL.,

Our army now is marching towards Herefordshire, to refresh after the Dutch fashion. You can easily imagine what it is that pressed us to go thither; it is not for fear of the enemy, for they are but weak, and keep their holds. Hasten the King with ordnance, horse, and foot, and doubt nothing. We are few, but shrewd fellows as ever you saw; nothing troubles us but that Prince Charles is in worse, and pray God that he were here. I expect nothing but ill from the West; let them hear that Rupert says so. As for Charles Lucas's business, assure the King that nothing was meant but that it should be conceded by Lord Hopton: but his Lieutenant, or Slingsby, is a rogue; I have enough against him to prove him so, when time shall be. This inclosed will shew you a fine business concerning my cousin, the Bishop of York. Pray acquaint his Majesty with it, it concerns him. Martin's man carried a letter to you from Stowe, which you did receive, and one to Sir Henry Herbert. Pray remember me to him and to all my friends, and inquire about this letter; you'll find knavery in it. Prince Charles wrote to me about Mark Trevor; I denied it as well as I could: he goes to him. Cheshire will not prosper: your company is here—so is your friend,

---

[1] Earl of Dartmouth's MSS.

Sheffield, 24th March, 1645. RUPERT.

The Northern Horse who had been led from Marston Moor by Prince Rupert, at this time began to shew their yeomanry nature, and to desire home quarters. I give their petition for removal below.[1]

---

[1] TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE NORTHERN OFFICERS.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

Whereas we are confident that we have sufficiently to the satisfaction of your Majesty asserted our loyalties against whatsoever any contradictions or jealousies may suggest to the contrary; and now, seeing our native countries as valuable and considerable, as we conceive, as any other parts of your Majesty's dominions, lieth enthralled under the pressures and insolencies of the enemy, and seeing the care and cure of those countries is no less your Majesty's work than the preservation of these, and in

* Compare this with Clarendon's Rebellion, v. 171.

Prince Maurice now sends forces to join his

---

justice and charity, ought to be our endeavour before any other undertaking, and seeing that Pontefract and Carlyle, the only considerable forts remaining in those parts wherein are shut up most of the faithful and powerful gentry of those countries straitly besieged if not distressed. And, therefore, if we be wanting any longer to afford them that relief to which, by many solemn obligations, we stand engaged, we shall render our case desperate, by disenabling ourselves and party there from all such services, and which, as yet, we conceive and hope, by God's assistance, may be highly advantageous to your Majesty in those parts. And seeing that many of our soldiers are already wasted, and do daily moulder away, and that the main of our present strength consists of officers, gentlemen of quality, and their attendants, unmeet for these duties which are expected and required; and that the loss of any of them is not small, but involves in it such multitudes as may, by their power and respect, be raised, if they once approach their own habitations.

We, upon these considerations, and many other obvious to the imaginations of all such as are sensible of our condition; as also your Majesty's gracious promise to this purpose, humbly entreat your sacred Majesty that you would be pleased to vouchsafe your consent, encouragement, and assistance, so far forth as your occasions in these parts will give leave, to us to march into the North, where we are constantly resolved to adventure our dearest blood in the pursuance of your just and most Christian cause; and reducing of these miserable countries into a condition whereby, we doubt not, they shall be enabled to contribute effectual assistance for the suppressing of this unnatural rebellion.

And the petitioners will pray, &c.

F. Fetherstonhaugh.
E. Deelengtill.
Robert Hilliard.
John Forier.
H. Fetherstonhaugh.
John Sayer.
Will. Brooke.
John Thornton.
Ralph Brandlinge.
Ralph Myllot.
Francis Middleton.
Alane Bland.
Tim. Calverley.
Gam^{l}. Dudley.
Francis Anderson.
Fra. Hungate.
John Smith.
Phill. Monckton.
Witten Reveley.
George Tonge.
Gilbert Markeham.
Jo. Gallard.
Will. Tompkins.
J. Vaglor.
Ho. Brocke.
W. Mason.
Will. Blackiston.
Jo. Shallcross.
Oliver Fleetwood.
Geo. Wray.
Francis Melham.
Ralph Hodson.
Henry Sotherby.
Raynald Carnaby.
Peregrine Palmer.
Will. Redmaine.
Ralph Carnabye.

brother; the following are his orders for the march:—

TO SIR JOHN OWEN.

SIR,

To-morrow being Monday, the 17th present, you are to be with all the foot at the rendezvous, on Botchfield Heath, precisely by seven of the clock in the morning. You are likewise to give strict order that every officer under the degree of a major, march a-foot with his company: and that no officer or soldier presume to straggle, or be found pistol-shot from his colours upon pain of death. Hereof you may not fail. Given at Ellesmere, this 16th day of March, 1645. MAURICE.[1]

For Sir John Owen, Knt., Major-General
to the Foot.

Prince Rupert reached Hereford on the 17th, and beat Massey from its neighbourhood: he is recalling those parts to obedience with the assistance of the "shrewd fellows" mentioned in his last. He has heard of the Roundheads hanging thirteen of the troops from Ireland, when Shrewsbury was taken; and he had previously sworn that he would hang man for man until the Roundheads revoked their murderous order to give no quarter. In a slight skirmish he had lately taken some prisoners; he selected thirteen by lot, and hanged them on the nearest tree. It was a stern deed of retribution, but it was effectual in stopping the practice of hanging every soldier whom the Roundheads chose to consider Irish.[2] When the Parliament first heard of their men being executed, they were very indignant, and ordered Essex to write "word to Rupert that there was a very great difference between Englishmen and Irishmen."[1]

---

[1] Mr. Ormsby Gore's MSS.

[2] Heath's Chronicle.

The following letter from the Prince explains itself. It will be recollected that the arms collected in Bristol were his by right of conquest; and that, as Governor of that town, and Generalissimo of the King's armies, he had a good right to dispose of them.

PRINCE RUPERT TO COLONEL LEGGE.

DEAR WILL,

Your last by Mortaigne I received last night, late. Rupert [the Prince always uses a cipher for his own name] well did misdoubt him when he delivered the letter. The Scots are come to Whitehaven, so that I cannot come to your garrison. Perhaps, when we march from hence towards Evesham, I shall from thence come to Oxford; in the mean time do your business without Rupert. I now intend for Bristol, to rob them of their arms, and (if I had power) of Prince Charles. His council already sends orders to Goring, and are well received. Pray desire to know of the King if he have given them power so to do. Pray let Sir Edward Herbert be by—he can argue better than you. I must have Sam. Fawcett with me: really I cannot want him, therefore set your heart at rest—your companion shall come in recompense. Desire the King to bring as few scullions and beefeaters with him [as possible], else this army and he cannot quarter in a place. I would give anything to be but one day at Oxford, when Rupert could discover some that were in this plot of Herefordshire, and the rest; but I despair of it. Pray will you inquire after Lord Digby's man, he had your letter which I sent from Stow-in-the-Wold. Your friend,

---

[1] "Perfect Passages," April 9th, 1645.

RUPERT.

Hereford, March 31, 1645.

Prince Rupert is vigorously recruiting from all parts. At his word, levies have been made in Wales, and are summoned to join him on the shortest notice. Prince Maurice, too, has been stimulated into active measures, with orders to ingratiate himself, as far as was in his nature to do, with the local authorities. He thus writes from Chester on the 23rd of March, 1645.

FOR SIR JOHN OWEN, MAJOR-GENERAL, AT WREXHAM OR RHUABBON.

SIR,

My resolution being to take the advice and opinion of some of His Majesty's Commissioners of the several counties of Merioneth, Denbigh, Flint, Carnarvon, and Anglesea, for the security and safety of those parts, I shall therefore earnestly desire you to send to the Commissioners of each of the aforesaid counties, that they speedily attend me here, for the purpose aforesaid, which is all at present, but that I am

Your affectionate Friend,

MAURICE.

On the 10th of April, Sir John Owen receives the following letter from Prince Rupert:—

TO SIR JOHN OWEN AND COLONEL THELWALL.

GENTLEMEN,

You are, upon sight hereof, to march with those thousand men, which were to be raised and delivered unto you out of the counties of North Wales, and all others that you can get by Aberystwith, where the Governor may furnish you with a convoy; or by the safest ways you know for your security, to the City of Hereford, where you shall receive further orders from me. Hereof you may by no means fail.

Rupert.[1]

Hereford, 2nd April, 1645.

We have next a short note relating to private affairs. "My brother" is Prince Edward: fortunately for Rupert, and the King and kingdom, this other Palatine did not accept the invitation to England: he remained at Paris, and soon afterwards he made a wealthy marriage, as we shall hear, and became a Roman Catholic.

PRINCE RUPERT TO COLONEL LEGGE.

Dear Will,

My last was in haste. Goring had orders to go with his Horse into Wiltshire, or with his Foot to Taunton, at which he is disconcerted, and himself gone to Bath. Lords Capel and Colepepper go to the forces with private instructions. You may easily perceive what that tends to. I have had a letter from my brother in France, who desires my order to come to me: if it be His Majesty's desire I should send word presently. I have sent to His Majesty in Cheshire; he will be pleased to order therein as he shall think fitting. This is all I have to send, resting Your Friend,

Rupert.

April 13, 1645.

Since I wrote, I remember that the King was contented; therefore I will send an express for my brother.

---

[1] From Mr. Ormsby Gore's MSS.

The necessity for exertion was very urgent. Cromwell had been now emancipated from the control of all the "peace-makers" by the Self-denying Ordinance; and had himself been exempted from the operation of that ordinance. He was already on the move, hovering about Oxford. The King was hastening to join his forces to those of Rupert, in order to fight the Scots before Fairfax could join them. Fairfax was then employed in the new-modelling of the old armies, so that Cromwell was only accompanied by his own trained troopers. With them he roved about untrammelled, and soon "uncattled" the neighbourhood of Oxford, as the parliamentary papers termed it. On April the 22nd he defeated two thousand men sent by Prince Rupert to convoy the King and his artillery. On the 24th, "merely by dragoons and fierce countenances, he took Bletchington" from poor Colonel Windebank. The Colonel was inexcusable; he was only attacked by cavalry; he was within four miles of Oxford, one hour from assistance: he had made no resistance; his young wife's fears, they say, had paralysed his energies: a strong and important garrison was lost; its young Governor was condemned by court-martial to die, and was accordingly shot to death, leaning his back against Merton College, the great lady-barracks. He died with the high courage of his caste. Digby's account of the matter follows.

---

[1] Heath's Chronicle, p. 122.

LORD DIGBY TO PRINCE RUPERT.

[Partly in cipher.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

In my last by Stevens, I gave your Highness an account of Cromwell's incursion into your quarters with three thousand horse and dragoons: of his success in the base delivery up of Bletchington House, and in routing some of our horse: since that he hath beaten up others of our quarters. I believe his first design was to go join with Massey, but these successes will make them stay in these parts, hoping to hinder the King's march to Prince Rupert, and by the reputation of it to draw an army quickly out of London to distress us here. The truth of it is, it is impossible for the King to march till they be removed, which how to do but by your drawing your army this way, I know not. The King hath sent orders that all Goring's horse, and what foot can be consented by the Mayor of Hertford's council upon the consideration of the worst, to march immediately hither. If those horse were near there they would suffice to do the work; but it must be expected that ere they can come hither, the rebels will have, in our quarters, a good body of foot, and then if we have not foot enough to deal with them, those horse will be exposed to the same hazards and inconveniences that the horse we now have here are: besides that the country is so eaten up, that if we have not a force that can support itself, or put it to an issue quickly, it will be impossible for those horse, when they come, to subsist. It is therefore proposed unto your Highness, whether upon this occasion it be not necessary for Prince Rupert to march hither as strong as Prince Rupert can, and to frame our body of an army hereabouts, without which not only the King's conjunction with you will be impossible, but he will be in danger of being besieged here, and then Prince Rupert will be forced to march hither to relieve him upon worse terms than now. To prevent all this, the truth is that the distress of Chester is an unhappy objection; but since your Highness says, you cannot relieve the place without the train, and that it is not possible for the King to bring the train to Prince Rupert, that objection ceases by the law of necessity. This is all I have to say by his Majesty's command, submitting all to your Highness's judgment, I rest

Your Highness's most faithful humble servant,
GEORGE DIGBY.

Oxford, April 27, 1645.

During all this time Sir Richard Grenville had been besieging the town of Plymouth with a very small army; he having appropriated to his own use the large sums advanced for the raising and maintenance of eight thousand troops. At length he had been ordered to leave Plymouth to a blockade, and to besiege Taunton, which was stoutly held by Blake. Grenville being wounded, Sir John Berkely succeeded to the command; but Sir Richard had taken measures, even during his removal on a litter, to set his officers against his successor.[1]

---

[1] Sir Richard was a younger brother of Sir Bevil's, "though in his nature or his humour not akin to him." He had served in the Low Countries under Prince Maurice of Nassau, in Lord Vere's regiment. He was a devoted follower of the Duke of Buckingham, who procured for him a baronetcy and a wealthy wife. He used the latter brutally, and at length she separated herself from him, to his great joy. This was soon put an end to, however, on his discovery that she had settled her fortune in trustees so firmly before her marriage, that he was left penniless. He assailed Lord Coventry, who gave judgment at law against him, with such bitterness, that he was imprisoned by the Star Chamber. Escaping from prison, he betook himself to France, until the Civil War broke out, when he obtained a command in Ireland. On the cessation of arms being there proclaimed, he declared that his

The subjoined letter from one secretary,[1] and that which follows it from the other, gives all the intelligence from Court.

"conscience" would not allow him to serve the King any longer, and he was warmly received by the Parliament. He again deserted, however, almost immediately to the King, and was finally appointed to blockade Plymouth. He was a sanguinary, brutal, dishonourable man, who did infinite injury to the cause he pretended to serve. He was not even brave; but he understood the business of a soldier well.

[1] SECRETARY NICHOLAS TO PRINCE RUPERT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

The news of Colonel Gerrard's happy success against Langhorne, as it is attributed to an effect of your Highness's good conduct, so, I assure your Highness, it came very seasonably hither to allay the vain-glorious boasting of the rebels upon Cromwell's petty victories on several quarters of ours in these parts, through want of that diligence and vigilancy in the chief commanders hereabouts, which your Highness's good example might lead them unto [ciphers]. Cromwell is now lying at Stamford and other places next to Farrington,* with six regiments of horse and four troops of dragoons of the rebels, expecting the coming of Colonel Royden's regiment hither. I have herein sent your Highness copies of the agreement lately made by the four Western counties unanimously, at the Prince's late being at Bridgewater, whereby your Highness will understand that there is very good hopes of a great army to come from those parts.† The rebels are drawing down by Maidenhead and Winham all the horse and foot they can, but their pressed men run away in great numbers, and their officers are still very unwilling to march under Sir Thomas Fairfax. It is reported that Cromwell's forces are intended for Gloucester to reinforce or rather displace Massey.

Colonel Windebank, who was condemned, at a council of war, for delivering up Bletchington House without fighting, was to have been shot this day, but is reprieved now till Saturday next.

---

* Farrington Castle was stoutly defended by Roger Burgess, who replied with a defiance to Cromwell's summons and oath to put every man to the sword if the castle was not rendered. Cromwell was baffled.

† At the meeting of the Commissioners of the associated

Prince Maurice has now joined his brother, and they march together towards Woodstock to meet

---

I hear that the Marquis of Newcastle, Lord Wilmot, and Lord Percy are all at Paris; the Queen hath been dangerously sick, but is now hoped to be on recovery. The copies of my news from London will tell your Highness what I hear from thence, and my actions and endeavours shall ever approve me to be really and humbly, sir, your Highness's

Most humble and most faithful servant,
Oxon, 30th April, 1645 EDWARD NICHOLAS.

LORD DIGBY TO PRINCE RUPERT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

Mr. Whitfield is returned, with the joyful news of Charles Gerrard's great victory, and of your sudden advance this way. I have

---

counties of Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall; at Bridgwater, at the Town Hall there, the 24th April, 1645.

PRESENT.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Lord Hawley.
Governor of Bridgwater.
Mr. Coventry.
Sir Jo. Stawell.
Sir Cha. Berkeley.
Sir Hen. Berkeley.
Sir Edward Rodney.
Sir Tho. Bridges Vic.
Sir Jo. Powlet.
Sir Edw. Berkeley.
Mr. Sproke.
Mr. Phillips.
Mr. Kyrbon.
Mr. Wingfield.
Mr. Warr.
Mr. Bull.
Mr. Loversitch.
Mr. Newbery.
Sir Peter Ball.
Sir GeorgeParry.
Sir Henry Cary.
Mr. Modiford.

DEVONSHIRE.

Sir John Berkeley.

DORSETSHIRE.

Sir Jo. Strangeways.
Mr. Gray.
Mr. Ryves.

CORNWALL.

Sir Henry Killegrew.

It is resolved upon the question that these grand committees of the associated counties shall take into present consideration the raising of an associated army in the four associated counties for the defence thereof.

That they will declare that their intention is, that these eight thousand men shall be over and above the guard now raising for his Highness and the several garrisons, and that the same shall be ready to march as his Highness shall give orders, was likewise offered, though the same be not put in writing in the paper delivered to his Highness.

This is declared, accordingly, by word of mouth, to the
Prince, and to-morrow in writing.

Examined per RICHARD FANSHAWE.

the King, and escort his unconscious majesty towards the fatal field of Naseby. We trace their progress by an intercepted letter from Massey, late governor of Gloucester, to Alderman Brown, lately a wood-merchant, now a general.

FOR MAJOR-GENERAL BROWN, GOVERNOR OF ABINGDON.

SIR,

I have endeavoured, by all ways and means, to give you advertisement of Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice's march this morning. They marched from Broadway before day, and were at Stowe by ten of the clock. Their march is exceedingly speedy, and towards Oxford. I humbly

---

nothing to add to my dispatches last night by Ned Villiers, but that it is impossible for the King to be ready to move so soon as Sunday, unless Prince Rupert bring along with him one hundred draught horses; for the enemy's falling into our quarters, and lying all around us, makes it absolutely impossible for us to be supplied hereabouts. But, if horses were had, we are ready with all things else at an hour's warning. Cromwell, having drawn most of the foot out of Abingdon, is this day before Farringdon, hoping that it is weakly manned since the loss of George Lesley's three hundred men; but I make no doubt of its holding out till Rupert comes to relieve it. If Rupert holds this day, I am not in despair but Goring may also come time enough to do it: but this is not to be relied upon. God bless and prosper your Highness. I rest

Your Highness's most faithful humble servant,
GEORGE DIGBY.

Oxford, April 30, 1645.

Since the writing of this, there is one come from the Commander in Farringdon, to assure unto the King that they are strong enough to hold on five days, and that there is a hundred of George Lesley's men supposed to be lost—gone in to them with their arms.

P.S. [By the King.] The desire of hastening this dispatch, makes me not write otherwise than this to you, having no more to say at this time but what you find in this paper. C. R.

desire that his Excellency may have timely notice, and also Lieutenant-General Cromwell. I rest, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,
EDWARD MASSEY.

Sudeley Castle, May 3, 1645.

We have now a letter from Paris, which affords some variety from military details —

LORD JERMYN TO PRINCE RUPERT.

SIR,

I received this day, in a packet of mine, your Highness's of the first of April, from Hereford, to the Queen. She is not yet in estate to give your Highness an answer; and therefore desires you to receive it from me. She had charged Tom Elliot, your Highness's faithful servant, with many things to say to you; but he receiving the King's command to stay here till he had order to return, and being, notwithstanding that command, gone into England, may perchance not have the liberty to wait upon you, which I am sorry for, the occasion not permitting the transmission of so many things as he had in command. In short, they all went to the assuring your Highness of the constant friendship of the Queen to you, and that she hath not departed from any of the promises she hath made to you. I am joyed to find, in your Highness's letter, a wish that the Prince of Wales' army might be as good as yours. We hear, out of the West, his is like to be very good, which makes us hope that, both together, our affairs may go well this summer. Your Highness is to know *a romance story* that concerns you here, in the person of Prince Edward. He is last week married privately to the Princess Anne, the Duke of Nevers' daughter. This Queen—the thing being done without her consent—hath been very much offended at it; and, notwithstanding all the endeavours of your brother's friends, he hath received a command to retire himself into Holland, which he has

done. This is to satisfy the Queen's displeasure, who pretends the King's authority was wounded in this proceeding of your brother's. But there will come no further disadvantage to him than a little separation from his wife. She is very rich; six or seven thousand pounds a-year sterling is the least that can fall to her, maybe more: and is a very beautiful young lady. I have now no more to trouble your Highness withall; yet, before I conclude, I cannot avoid adding this word, that I am, according to the frequent and constant vows I have made, with all truth and passion, Sir, your Highness's most humble
and most obedient Servant,

Paris, May 5, 1645. HENRY JERMYN.

After this there is but one more letter until the Prince joins the King at Woodstock. "Will Legge" has been appointed to command in Oxford during the King's absence, and Prince Rupert sends him an authority that few cared to question, in the following commission:—

PRINCE RUPERT TO COLONEL LEGGE, GOVERNOR OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF OXFORD.

SIR,

You are immediately, upon sight hereof, to take into your charge and command as Commander-in-Chief, all the inferior and subordinate garrisons to and near the City of Oxford, the garrison of Banbury excepted, all which are to obey and receive orders from you; further requiring all Commanders, Governors, and Officers of all other His Majesty's garrisons to be aiding and assisting unto you, upon all occasions whensoever they shall be required by you for the defence of the City and County of Oxford.

Hereof you and they respectively are not to fail.

Given at Barford, this seventh May, 1645.

RUPERT.

While waiting for the King we may find time to peruse the following extract from an amusing squib against the Prince, printed about this time in London, under the title of

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF PRINCE RUPERT,

Wherein he disposeth of all his estate here in England, and maketh Sir F. Fairfax executor, and Lieut.-General Cromwell, Major-General Brown, and Colonel Massey, overseers of the same Will. Printed at London, October 7, 1645.

I, Rupert, Plunder-Master-General, being most dangerous sick, yet of perfect memory; and calling to mind the impartiality of the times, am very well assured, by common computation, the time of my continuance cannot be long. And, whereas I have been prodigal, both of the innocent's lives and estates, and being desirous, so near as I can (now I can do no more mischief) peaceably to depart and give every man his due, do constitute and ordain, depute and make this my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following:

* * * * *

Item—Whereas my whole estate being disposed of, as aforesaid, to my poor friends (*i. e.*, all my friends), I can and will bequeath nothing, only this to my confounding d—d Lords, my proud Papistic and Atheistic Prelates, and all other of my high-qualitied friends, who were more rich than honest, more learned than religious; I will bequeath unto them contrition and repentance, and wondrous submissive petitions; and, for my second sort of friends, that were excellent swearers, gallant drunkards, and most notable plunderers, that killed poor countrymen with mouth-guns; I will and bequeath them new ropes to hang themselves, &c. &c.

COMMANDER RUPERT.

On the 7th of May the King commenced his last and fatal campaign. He reached Woodstock that night, and was welcomed by the intelligence that his intended convoy had just routed a party of the enemy. The next day he joined Prince Rupert at Stow-in-the-Wold; and a council of war was then held as to their future movements. Sir Edward Walker, who records this campaign, finds it necessary to attribute every subsequent misfortune to Prince Rupert's advice. Had the left wing of the Royal army at Naseby been as well commanded as that which Rupert led, where would have been all Sir Edward Walker's and Sir Edward Hyde's criticisms? What basis would they find, or even seek to rest upon?

At the rendezvous at Stow-in-the-Wold on the 8th of May, there were but eleven thousand troops. All England was to be kept in view; all dangers met, all obstacles overcome by this, the King's only army. The Prince of Wales at Bristol; the leaguering force at Taunton; the besieged garrison of Chester, were all to be immediately cared for. The Scots, too, were to be immediately encountered in the North, lest they should join Fairfax. All this was to be provided for, and that immediately, by eleven thousand men, in the face of a powerful enemy, having more than twice that number of eager and resolute men, with a Fairfax to command, and a Cromwell to impel them! Notwithstanding all this, Rupert effected almost every urgent object, so far as his arrangements could provide for them; and, moreover, within a month he mustered nearly twenty thousand men upon the field of Naseby. Those who have studied military affairs, or who will dispassionately consider even the pecuniary and commissariat difficulties of such an undertaking will admit that Prince Rupert displayed a masterly power of combination, and a grasp of thought that has seldom grappled with more numerous and discordant difficulties.

I shall not enter into the debates of his Council of War: I shall only state briefly the results, and hasten to the battle of Naseby. I fear the reader must be anxious to change the scene, and to hasten over the tragic remainder of the King's sad story.

Goring was despatched to Taunton to take that town, which he swore he could do at once; to encourage the demonstrations the West Counties' Association had lately made in favour of the Prince of Wales; to check Fairfax, and keep him separate from Cromwell; and finally to join the King's army, and enable it to meet the enemy in a general battle. The Northern Horse, whose imperious petition we have lately seen, were to be indulged by a move in the direction of their homes. Chester, sorely pressed by Brereton and Mitton, was to be relieved; Yorkshire recovered, and the army recruited there; the Scots defeated, and then,—right about and face Fairfax.

On the 9th Goring was hastened away to the

South, and the King's army proceeded to the North by Evesham. Campden House was dismantled by the way and its garrison, under Sir Henry Bard, added to the marching army. Hawkesly House, near Bromsgrove, was taken by Prince Maurice, and the garrison made prisoners. Forward by Wolverhampton the army moved to Stowebridge, Newport, Drayton, and Stowe. Here Lord Byron met the King with intelligence that at his approach the enemy had drawn off from Chester. Thereupon the Royal forces now moved away by Uttoxeter, Burton-upon-Trent, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and Loughborough, to Aylstone near Leicester. Intelligence now arrived that Fairfax was besieging Oxford, and this caused a pause in the Northern design. It was resolved to halt until circumstances should decide whether it were necessary to return towards the South.[1] To occupy the interim it was determined to besiege the opulent and important town of Leicester. On the 28th of May it was partially invested by Sir Marmaduke Langdale's patroles. On the 29th Sir Richard Willis arrived at the Royal quarters with a reinforcement of eight hundred men from the garrison of Newark, and the siege was regularly commenced on the same day.[2]

During the night, "by the admirable diligence and command of Prince Rupert," as Sir Edward Walker confesses, "a battery was raised against the southern wall, and from this, on the following morning, the 31st of May, the Prince ordered two pieces of heavy ordnance to be fired against the walls "as a ceremony." He then sent a trumpeter into the town, offering free pardon to the citizens, and leave to Major Innes to withdraw unmolested with his dragoons. Sir Robert Pye, as a sensible citizen, and Major Innes, as an old soldier, pronounced the place to be untenable, and that it ought not to be wantonly subjected to assault and plunder. Others professed that "they had undertaken the Parliament cause, and desired to die in no other." The trumpeter finally was dismissed with a request on the part of the garrison, to be allowed time for debate. The Prince, who had meanwhile mounted a second battery with guns, sent him back for an immediate reply; it was delayed; the Prince opened his fire, and in four hours effected a breach in the strong walls of "the Newark," as the fortified part of the town is still called. The garrison fought with determined courage, and prepared to defend the breach by a characteristic rampart of wool-packs. Night fell; fascines had been prepared, while the artillery was opening away into the doomed citadel: as soon as night fell the moat was filled with the fascines, and the stormers advanced to the assault under Colonel Leslie. A close and murderous fire repelled them; they advanced again, won their way for one moment, and the next were driven back over the breach; again and again the Cavaliers pressed into that deadly chasm, and were slain or driven back by the stout defenders. The "King's guards" now advanced with levelled pikes, and stormed for the last time; as they struggled in the breach, a shout of victory piercing through all the clamour, announced that the town was won elsewhere. In three other quarters the walls were attempted by escalade, and at length the Newark Cavaliers entered with sword and pistol, just as they had dismounted, and won their way. At daybreak the town was the King's; Rupert's black banner was flying over the well-defended walls, and the fight was scattered away among the streets, where the men, and even the women, still fought desperately from roof and window of their homes; hence it happened that several women, shewing a soldier's courage, met with a soldier's death. The town was utterly sacked, but there appears to have been no wanton bloodshed, for the whole casualty, on both sides, is only stated at from two hundred to three hundred slain:[1] twelve hundred armed men were taken prisoners; fifty barrels of powder, nine guns, and one thousand muskets were the most important spoil. One hundred and forty waggon-loads of plunder were sent off to Newark.

---

[1] Iter Carolinum; Walker's "Hist. Discourses," 125, 6, 7.

[2] The following account is taken chiefly from Mr. Holling's excellent little History of Leicester, and Sir Edward Walker's relation, in his Historical Discourses.

---

[1] Whitelocke, with his usual candour, refutes the assertions of some of the Roundhead journals that the streets ran with the blood of the inhabitants; that the Scots were murdered in cold blood; and that the Parliamentary committee had been hanged. The real case was bad enough; and St. Sebastian and Badajos in later days may prove that a rude soldiery, brutalized by ignorance, intoxication, and the sense of danger, cannot be controlled in the hour of hard-won victory.

This was one of the best fought and defended actions of the war: there yet remain some most interesting memorials of it in that part of the town which is still called the Newark, a strong enclosure approached under the gateway of "Rupert's tower." The effects of this successful opening of the campaign were very important: all the surrounding garrisons of Bagworth, Coleorton, Kirby Bellers, and Burleigh House, were precipitately abandoned by the Roundheads, and even London was filled with dismay. The City petitioned the Parliament to stem "the increasing and prevailing of the Cavaliers' successes by sea and land, like a mighty torrent." Charles himself, "deceived by this lighteninge before his ruine," wrote to the Queen to say that his fortunes had never yet been in so flourishing a condition.[1]

The Royal forces rested here for some days to refresh and to be reorganised, a process always very necessary after a victory or defeat amongst our Cavaliers. Lord Loughborough had all his recent discontents soothed by being appointed Governor of the conquered town. Colonel Page, who had been first on the escalade, was knighted, so also was Appleyard, and these honours were rendered valuable by their rarity. The breaches made by the Royal artillery were carefully repaired; other fortifications were superadded, " and the country shewed great cheerfulness in assisting."

---

[1] Nor was this impression confined to his Majesty or to his party as may be seen from the following extract of a letter from Sir Samuel Luke to Major Watson, dated Newport, June 6th, 1645. "I am most heartily sorry for the ill success of our forces in all parties, which hath caused a dead heartedness in all people, that they are struck with such a panic fear, that, if I am not deceived, the Parliament cause was never in so declining a condition as at present. His Majesty's head-quarters was last night at Harborough, and part of his horse advanced seven miles off Northampton.—*Ellis's Collection*, vol. iv. p. 243.

It is now time to look back upon our correspondence: from Oxford we hear something of Cromwell's movements.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO PRINCE RUPERT.

May it please your Highness,

Though I have sent home two expresses since I received any letter from the Court, yet the despatch enclosed, coming to me the last night, by an express from Newark to your Highness and my Lord Digby, and the person that brought the same being on the way hurt by the rebels; and finding, by my letter, that there was in them matter of more than ordinary, I have thus suddenly troubled your Highness again with my despatches, before I understand whether you had not rather that I should spare you pains. We have several reports, by passengers, that Taunton is rendered, and also the Castle, but no letters of it from any credible hand. Cromwell had gathered up, together with his own, about seven thousand horse and foot. He marched yesterday from five miles beyond Banbury, towards Coventry, and intends to draw all the rebels' garrisons, and to pursue the King, at a good distance, towards Chester. He is now the principal counsellor of the rebels, who are much dissatisfied with Thomas Fairfax; and if Cromwell should miscarry, neither Scots would advance, nor the rebels be able to raise any considerable army. This year I hear nothing of certainty what is become of Fairfax's forces in the West, only from report, that Lord Goring met with and dispersed a good part of them. But others say, they never came near Lord Goring, but ran away by small numbers, so as the foot are not above two thousand in all, and that they are about Dorchester, in county Dorset. The town of Taunton is in part burnt, but the people there hold out with very great obstinacy, and refuse quarter when they are taken prisoners. I am really, sir,

Your Highness's most humble and faithful servant,
EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Oxford, May 16, 1645.

The next is from Lord Clarendon, and it is somewhat interesting to find his private letter so like a page out of his own great Work:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I came the last night to this place, having been compelled to take shipping at Barnstaple for Bristol. Mr. Fox told me at my alighting, that he had then sent a letter from your Highness to me by the way of Bridgewater, so that if you receive not satisfaction in that particular of your commands by this, you will impute it to that misfortune of mine, that I have not yet received it; for truly in what shall come to me from you, you shall find me most exactly obedient. I find since my coming hither, that many of my letters have miscarried; and I fear some that I have presumed to direct to your Highness. My last, by Colonel Fitzwilliam, I hope came safe to you: if you have not received a very particular account of all the Devonshire garrisons, one very long letter of mine hath missed you: but in truth, though I expected very much from

Barnstaple, it exceeded far even that expectation, and considering all circumstances is the most miraculously fortified place that I know, and I am confident is the best provided to receive an enemy, especially in a magazine of victuals, of any town in England. Having all places so convenient to them, and the levies of men in great forwardness, I was extremely troubled to find so much sadness and discontent here upon the orders and letters lately sent from Court; I have not yet had leisure to peruse them, but I find enough to satisfy me that you have received information there of matters of fact without the least colour of truth. 194, 134, 240, 255, 329, 240, 225, 156, infinitely troubled 28, 330, 399, 28. 48, 241, 201, 203, 152, 302, 304, 153, 241, 225, 330, 241, Mr. 100, 241, 391, which trouble hath been sufficiently improved by other men. But I doubt not, as he is one of the most honest men I know, and therefore for God's sake, sir, esteem him so, so he will in this, and in all things else, comport himself with great duty to your Highness, and in earnest (though I very well know you have great reason not to be so well satisfied with Slingsby as such a trust would require) I fear in this conjuncture of time, Mr. Fox will have no great joy in the preferment. I have infinite particulars to acquaint you with, which you shall receive by the next, for I had very little notice of this messenger, but will dispatch another speedily to your Highness. If my Lord Goring be called away, leaving such a strength behind him as may resist the present insolence of the enemy, and the Prince himself remove from the further west, I am confident, besides the provision of money and ammunition which otherwise will hardly be made, there will be, against the end of summer, such a supply of men as may give a great advantage to the King's service. We receive strange alarms every day from Oxford; but if such a town cannot endure the face of an army for some time, I would dwell hereafter in the fields and villages, and think no more of fortifying towns. Your Highness will pardon this hasty scribble, and believe that you have no servant more at your devotion than, sir,

Your Highness's most obedient servant,

EDW. HYDE.

Bath, this 27th, May, almost two in the morning.

With respect to the next letter, which displays Goring's hypocrisy very vividly, it is necessary to explain that Mr. O'Neil has devoted himself to Lord Digby's faction at Court, and has proportionally fallen in Prince Rupert's favour. He now dangles about Digby's antechamber, or travels forth as messenger, instead of charging in thickest fight by the Prince's side. Thus Digby's confederate writes concerning him:—

SIR,

I have so entirely fastened myself to your Highness's service, that I should be sorry to have any person I have a kindness to, excluded out of the number of those that are avowed by your Highness in that quality. I profess myself, I shall, therefore, humbly beseech your Highness to let me know if there be any such incapacity in Mr. O'Neil, that he may not be admitted into the same posture, which he has had the honour and happiness to hold formerly in your good opinion; and, if the difficulty be not great, that your Highness will be pleased to remove it, for my sake: since I should not have adventured upon this request, if I did not find him disposed in such manner to your service, as he ought to be, that is recommended to your favours, by your Highness's

Most humble, faithful, and most obedient servant,

Ash, May 19, 1645. GEORGE GORING.[1]

---

[1] To this I subjoin an extract from another letter by the same

Lord Clarendon again writes cheerfully as follows:—It seems evident that if Naseby had been won by the King, England had been the King's in the same hour, whether for good or ill to the conquerors and conquered:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I know not how my letters arrive with you, but this is the third I have written to you since I came from Bridgewater, in which I have given you an account of the state of this county, and of the levies here, which truly

---

able and unprincipled hand. The siege of Taunton has been abandoned, owing to the grossest misconduct on the part of Goring and Grenville:—

SIR,

There being a messenger just now ready to go to your Highness, I shall defer sending one of mine own till three or four days are over, that I may give your Highness a more certain account of the resolutions that are taken here than I can now; that which I find by discourse with some of the Prince's council, having yet entered into no consultation with them, is, that I shall be presently rigged out with the foot that were before Taunton, and a good body of horse, and remove out of this country, upon the edge of Wiltshire for the present, and as occasion offers itself, either attempt upon Fairfax, or stand upon the defensive. If Cromwell be joined with him, and if they should follow your Highness in the rear, we shall be ready without any other orders, to attend them and give the greatest interruption to their march that can be, but for my more certain rule and directions, I humbly beseech your Highness to send me as frequent commands as you can, and I assure your Highness faithfully that I will hazard eight thousand lives rather than leave anything undone that I think may conduce to the King's service, and to your Highness's satisfaction; being joyed at nothing in this world more than in the assurance of your favour, and that it will not be in the power of the devil to lessen your goodness to me, nor to alter the quality I have of my being

Your Highness's most humble,
Faithful, and obedient servant,
GEORGE GORING.

Bristol, 12th May, 1645.

are advanced so well, that I am confident the King will have a very noble army from these parts; and if the civil business of these parts be attended, and prosecuted with that vigour and authority, as it may be, truly great things may be done. I have already given you an account of the several garrisons, which I think are in the best condition, and the best fortified in England; and if your Highness gives direction for the regulating and reconciling those differences and contradictions in commissions, which I mentioned to you in my last, this county will be happy. Since I wrote, that is on Sunday morning last, has arrived at Dartmouth a ship with two hundred barrels of powder, and at Falmouth there are great, very great quantities of match and muskets, and pistols, arrived. I have given directions for drawing a good proportion of all to Bristol, by Barnstaple, and have likewise written to Charles Gerrard, to appoint some persons to receive his powder at . . . from whence he may have it at Swansea in one tide. I expect an answer from him tomorrow night, at Barnstaple, whither I go to give direction for the constant transportation of all that ammunition which I have directed to be sent thither, for I would not venture too much at a time. I have made two contracts, both which the Commissioners of this county have undertaken to make good, with two merchants of this city, who are gone six days since into France: the one is to bring two hundred, and the other three hundred barrels of powder; and they have promised that both shall arrive within twenty days after their going from hence; for I much fear Cullimore will not perform. I hope to be at Bristol, or where the Prince is (I would he were in these parts, for I hear the plague hath driven him from Bristol), within four days. From whence I shall trouble your Highness again with many particulars, which I had not now leisure to convey to you in cipher; and when I shall be most glad to receive any commands from you, which shall be obeyed by no man with more cheerfulness and alacrity than by, sir,

Your Highness's most obedient servant,
EDWARD HYDE.

Exeter, this 21st of May, 1645.

The next is from Oxford:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

. . Cromwell, with about seven thousand horse and foot, hath lain long about Southam, expecting Sir Thomas Fairfax; but on Sunday last, Cromwell quartered at Killingworth; Monday, he marched from thence towards Daventry, and, by the way, kept a rendezvous on Dunsmore-heath, from whence he marched towards Daventry; Sir Thomas Fairfax, his horse, and sixteen pieces, whereof divers are drawn by twenty-four horses, came thither Monday night, about midnight. We marched this last night within three miles of this town, with two thousand foot and about one thousand horse to guard them; some other parties of his horse being sent before . . . towards Islipp and Woodstock. He hath in all not above four thousand horse and foot, and some say [not so] many. It is given forth that he resolves to join with Cromwell, and then either to fall on this town, which, from several hands, is advertised from London to be their chief design, to divert the King; or else follow the King: or to march into the associated counties. Fairfax quartered this last night about this town. It is here much wondered, that Sir Thomas Fairfax should come out of . . . without any interruption, and lie quiet at . . . almost a week, and not so much as notice[d], by any out of the West, of his forces coming this way nor his quart[ers] disturbed. The Lords here desire they m[ay] . .] obliged to your Highness to give order to the Commanders [in] Chief, [Goring] in the West, to advertise their Lordships here, the motions and proceeding of his Majesty's forces in these towns, for what may concern even these parts; and to hold some correspondence with some of the Privy Council . . . that his Majesty's servants may not suffer, for not having such intelligence and correspondence as is . . . If Fairfax and Cromwell should receive some considerable blow, it would not only check . . . Scots and Northern rebels, in advancing hither, but add so much to the present distractions at London, as would prepare an easy way for a happy removing the present miseries of this kingdom: which, that the [Lord] will grant, is the earnest prayer of,

Sir, your Highness's most humble servant,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Oxon, 22nd May, 1645.

And now we turn to the Council of War, whose decision sealed the fate of Charles.

The three points debated were, 1st, To march towards Worcester, and meet Sir Charles Gerrard's division of three thousand horse and foot; 2nd, To press on towards the North, and either to give battle to the Scots and relieve Carlisle; or to come to terms and form an alliance with them; which was then believed to be very practicable, so disgusted were the Presbyterian Covenanters with the insolent Independents. The 3rd proposition was to return to Oxford and relieve the siege: Fairfax was there with a force inferior to the King's, and Cromwell was away in the Eastern counties. To the Oxford proposition the Courtiers lent an eager support; they had found themselves gradually declining in influence during the campaign, as the soldier party rose. They insisted on the importance of rescuing the Duke of

York, and the expedience of saving the Court Ladies from the Rebels' hands. The latter had importuned all the chief personages, and especially Prince Rupert,[1] to move to their assistance. The Prince, however, had his heart too much set upon the prosecution of the war to admit of such influences; Oxford was in no distress; Gerrard's division coming to Leicester would be left behind; the Northern Horse were highly discontented at returning; Lord Newcastle's soldiers were to be recruited from Yorkshire. Rupert therefore earnestly insisted on the Northern movement.[2] Digby, and Ashburnham, and the ladies carried it against him. It was determined, in spite of the reluctance of the Northern Horse, and the remonstrances of all the soldier party, to proceed towards the South. On the 4th of June, the Royal Army marched from Leicester, having set fire to Leicester Abbey, the Countess of Devonshire's residence, where the King had been twice a guest. After this unaccounted-for proceeding, they proceeded to Harborough and Daventry, which they reached on the 7th; the King and Prince Rupert having their quarters at the "Wheatsheaf Inn." Here they heard that Fairfax had retired from

---

[1] Sir Edward Walker, p. 128.

[2] I find a note in Prince Rupert's Diary, relating an anecdote redounding, as usual, to Colonel Legge's credit. "Before the King left Oxford he sent for him (then governor), and told him he should not trust to any person's report but his: he desired him also to tell him the truth of everything, if he (honest Will. Legge) should find himself in necessity." I presume honest Will. did *not* write on this occasion.

Oxford; the courtiers had no longer an excuse for returning thither, and Prince Rupert prevailed in favour of the North. Some cattle were sent thither, and the army was once more put in motion. He thus writes to Will. Legge on the 8th:—

PRINCE RUPERT TO COLONEL LEGGE.

DEAR WILL.,

There was a plot to send the King to Oxford, but it is undone. The Chief of the Council was the fear some men [viz., Digby and Ashburnham] had that the soldiers should take from them the influence which now they possess with the King. I would fain come over to you; but I will not ask leave, for fear of the rest of the officers. If I can, pray let me speak with you; tell me of a business which concerns you. Somewhat I have inquired, and hear nothing at all of it, but rather the contrary. I believe he has sent you word of this by Progers. I pray you let Sir William Compton have one of the twelve field-pieces I left at Oxford. He deserves encouragement, for his brother [Earl of Northampton] and he are fallen out. Pray deliver this enclosed to the Duke of York: it comes from . . . . .[1]

Daventry, 8th June, 1645.

It may be supposed that at this momentous crisis in his affairs the King and his officers were earnestly occupied with the affairs of the army. Not so; the King amused himself with hunting, and his officers were almost all similarly engaged while they remained at Daventry, and even as they retired before Fairfax on the 13th, towards Leicester.[1] That night the King slept at Lubenham.[2] The day's march had passed over a wide and wavy open country, in the centre of which stands Naseby, still unchanged from the appearance it presented then.[3] The Prince with his Life-guards had been in

---

[1] Earl of Dartmouth's MSS.

---

[1] Sprigge's "Anglia Rediviva," 1647. This writer was chaplain to Fairfax, and is the principal authority for the battle.

[2] Now the Old Hall, near Harborough, where it is said he dreamed (for the second time) that Strafford appeared to him in a dream, and warned him not to engage in fight.—*Rastall's "History of Southwell."* In Evelyn, v. 134, we have a letter from the King to Sir Edward Nicholas, dated "Lubnam" [in Leicestershire] 13th June, the day before the battle. It is in cipher, but so much is intelligible as to prove that when he wrote it he was going to supper. He had then no idea of that battle on the morrow, which, recommended by a midnight council, was so fatal to his cause. In Ellis's Hist. Letters, Lond. 1846, vol. iv. p. 247, *et seq.*, there is some correspondence relating to this action. On June 12, Sir Samuel Luke writes to Essex that every man they had taken had 20*s.* or 30*s.* in his pocket, and a sergeant had 20*l.* "which would make men fight for victory over such." Cromwell writes to Sir Samuel Luke to desire him to convey prisoners, and Fiennes to convey treasure taken at Naseby to Northampton. Luke's account of casualties (Ellis iv. 254), is two thousand killed, five hundred wounded, four thousand five hundred prisoners, twelve pieces of cannon, two hundred carriages, seven coaches, and the King and Prince's "sampler horses." Sir Samuel Luke and his father, Sir Oliver, were both Colonels of Horse under Parliament. Sir Samuel was Scout-master for Bedfordshire and other counties, Governor of the garrison of Newport Pagnel. He is the supposed original of Hudibras. Butler lived with him some time as his clerk.

[3] See the old map and plan of the battle in Sprigge's "Anglia Rediviva." The sketch of the town is very faithful to its present appearance; every house, I think, stands now, as sketched long ago in this otherwise incorrect plan. Lansdowne, near Bath, and Roundway, near Devizes, are the only two scenes of action in the Civil wars that remain unchanged. In the reign of George II., Leicestershire and Northamptonshire had very few enclosures —the farm-houses stood (as now, on the Wiltshire Downs) surrounded by a champaign country. The Rev. Mr. Martin, writing of Naseby in 1792, speaks of the country round as "an extensive

Fortunately I am here able to refer to the plan of battle, as drawn up by Prince Rupert's orders, and found amongst his papers. It differs considerably from Mr. Sprigge's curious plan, but agrees with it in placing Sir Marmaduke (now Lord) Langdale on

---

and Queen's, commanded by the Earl of Lichfield (lately Lord Bernard Stuart).

Prince Rupert's Life Guard of Horse, commanded by Sir Robert Crane.

Prince Maurice's Life Guard, the horse consisting of about a hundred gentlemen and reformadoes (unattached officers), commanded by the Lord Molineux.

Prince Rupert's Regiment of Horse, consisting of four hundred; eight troops, commanded by Sir Thomas Dalyson.

Lord Loughborough's regiment of Blue Coats, three troops, one hundred.

Colonel Horatio Cary's regiment, not two hundred, independent.

The body of horse was divided into four brigades, two of southern and two of northern horse.

James, Earl of Northampton's, consisting of these four regiments:—

Queen's Regiment, commanded by Sir John Campfield, a hundred and fifty.

Prince Maurice's Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Guy Molesworth.

Earl of Northampton's own regiment, two hundred and fifty.

Sir William Vaughan's Regiment (it was Sir Thomas Lucas's in Ireland), consisting of these seven regiments:—

Colonel Samuel Sandys' of Worcestershire, Governor of Worcester, consisting of one hundred and fifty.

Colonel Thomas Howard, eighty.

Colonel Leveson, Governor of Dudley Castle, one hundred and fifty.

Colonel Bagot, Governor of Lichfield, two hundred.

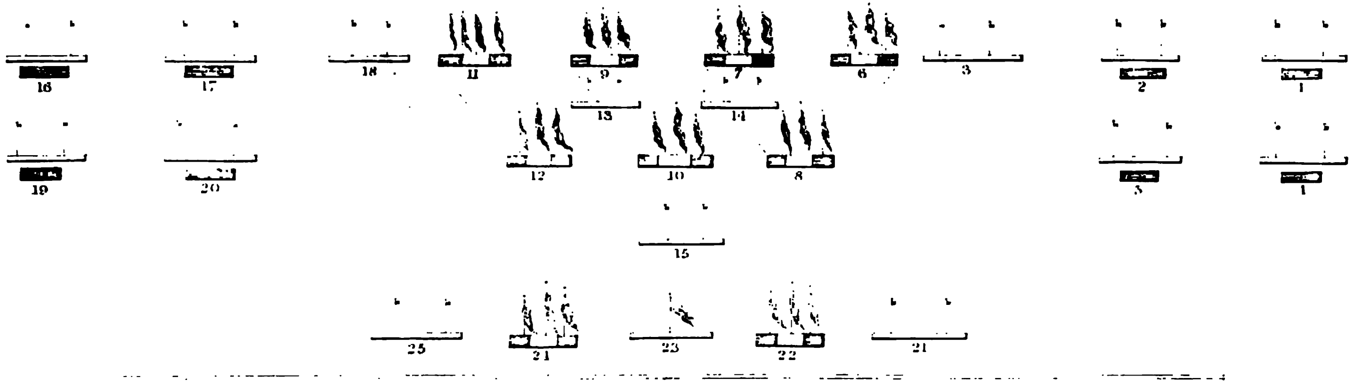
Sir Robert Byron, one hundred.

Sir Henry Bard, Governor of Campden House, one hundred, commanded by Barker.

Colonel Morthe's (were Colonel Marrowe's first), one hundred.

Total of this brigade, eight hundred and eighty.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF NASEBY.



Order of Battle drawn up by His Majesty's Command on the 14th June 1645, for his forces, consisting of 3500 Foot & 4000 Horse, with 12 pieces of Cannon, in the Action fought with the Parliamentary Army, led by Sir Thos. Fairfax *at* Naseby Field *near* Harboro'. Prince Rupert *commanded in this Battle as General of His Majesty's Army.*

(The original of this Plan is written in Dutch. De Gomme seems to have been the same with De Gomez the Engineer who accompanied Prince Rupert into England.)

The first line of the right wing consisted of 3 divisions of Cavalry under Prince Maurice, supported by 100 Musketeers.
1 *Prince Rupert's & P. Maurice's Troops.*
2 *Prince Rupert's Regiment.*
3 *The Queen's & P. Maurice's Regiments.*
The second line of the right wing consisted of 2 divisions of Horse, with 100 Musketeers.
4 *The Earl of Northampton's Regiment.*
5 *Sir William Vaughan's Do.*

6 *Duke of York's Regiment.*
7 *Colonel Hopton's Do.*
8 *Colonel Pryd's Do.*
Sir Henry Bard's force, two divisions viz:
9 *Sir Henry Bard's & Col. Thomas's Regts.*
10 *Sir John Owen & Col. Gerrard's Regts.*
Sir George Lisle's force, two divisions viz:
11 *Sir G. Lisle's & St. George's Regts.*
12 *The Shrewsbury Foot.*

The first line of the left wing consisted of 3 divisions of Horse with 100 Musketeers
16 *Commanded by*
17.18 *Sir Marmaduke Langdale.*
The second line of the left wing consisted of 2 divisions of Horse with 100 Musketeers, commanded by Col. Carey.
19 *Colonel Carey's Regiment.*
20 *One of the Yorkshire Regts. of Horse.*
The Reserve comprised
21 *Two divisions of Horse, commanded*

the left wing, and Rupert, with Prince Maurice, on the right. By this time it was known that Cromwell was on the field, and Rupert sought to meet him where he had previously found him, on the enemy's left wing. But Cromwell had this time selected

---

Major-General Sir Marmaduke Langdale's Brigade, divided into three divisions.

Sir William Blackstone's and the Northern Horse, divided into two brigades. Total, fifteen hundred.

Sir Richard Willis's Horse from Newark, twelve hundred.

Summa Totalis of the whole army of Horse :—

King's and Queen's Troops	130
Prince Rupert's	140
Prince Maurice's	120
Prince Rupert's Regiment of Horse	400
Lord Loughborough's	100
Colonel Cary's	200
Earl of Northampton's Brigade	850
Colonel Howard's Brigade	880
Sir Marmaduke Langdale's and Sir William Blackstone's Brigade	1500
Sir Richard Willis's	1200
	5520

The Infantry of the Royal Army on the 9th of May are thus enumerated :—

King's Life Guards	200
Lord Bard's Regiment	300
Colonel Lisle's Foot	500
Prince Rupert's	1000
Lord Astley's	3300
	5300

Simmonds's Diary.

This estimate closely agrees with that of Major Innes, who in his relation reckons the besieging force at about ten thousand men. Sir Edward Walker, however, states that many of the King's soldiers deserted with their plunder; and the casualties of the siege, as well as the garrison of Leicester, are to be deducted from the above.

the right wing, and assigned to Ireton the command of the troops that were to oppose the Prince. Fairfax commanded his infantry, forming, as usual, his centre, and his artillery flanked his battalions on the right and left.[1] The King's artillery consisted only of twelve small guns, none of which appear to have been even brought into position. The field of Naseby was then about one mile in breadth; two hedges, diverging eastward and westward, enclosed the scene of action. Two great undulating hills mark where the armies stood; the intermediate vale was the battle-ground, the valley of the shadow of death to thousands. It is still vividly green where some of the best blood of England enriched its dust. The Royalist battle-word was "God and Queen Mary!" that of the Puritans, "God with us!" The former were for the most part veterans; the latter, recruits of the new model, mingled with some regiments of stern experience. With one impulse both armies advanced; "the Royalists moving in a very stately and gallant style."[2] Rupert and his brother, supported by Lord Northampton's gallant troops,[3] charged upon the left wing of the enemy, and was, as ever, irresistible. Ireton, bleeding from two wounds, vainly strove to rally his cavalry, whilst old Skippon, also sorely wounded, as vainly endeavoured to keep his foot within their ranks. Rupert won *his* part of the battle, as at Edgehill and Marston, and with incorrigible impetuosity he pressed upon the fugitives until he swept them off the field; there, finding himself unsupported, and the battle still raging in the rear, he wheeled about, summonsing, as he passed, Colonel Bartlett, and the guard of the waggon-train[1] to surrender; their answer was a heavy fire. Having no time to dispute the matter, the Prince passed on, and, crowning the hill, beheld an awfully changed aspect of affairs. All was in confusion in the vale below: but the struggle for the bravest kingdom in Christendom was still fiercely contested: both Fairfax and Cromwell had their helmets knocked off, and rode bareheaded in the desperate *mêlée*. The right wing, commanded by Cromwell, and led by Colonel Whalley, had beaten in the Newark and Northern Horse, though they fought stoutly too, and still maintained a retreating fight among the gorse bushes which still cover the rabbit-warren that then checked the Roundheads' charge. At length the Northern Cavaliers gave way, and Cromwell, sending two officers in pursuit of them, turned with his deadly "Ironsides," upon the flank of the "blue regiments." These poor fellows, by their enemies' admission, fought heroically against fearful odds, and perished, or were made prisoners to a man.[1] Their comrades in the centre had been more successful. As they advanced against the hill where the Roundhead centre stood to receive their attack, the whole of the enemy's artillery opened on them, but with little effect; they also encountered and disregarded a heavy fire of musketry, and gained the hill; then their musketeers clubbed their muskets, and the pikemen levelled low, and so they went in upon the Roundheads and for a moment broke their line. Just then the cry of victory in their rear forced them to turn; and they retreated, fighting front, flank, and rear. They only regained their ground to die. Cromwell's Horse were there carrying all before them; and skirting the *mêlée*, was seen the King, striving vainly to rally his broken squadrons. Such was the scene the ill-starred Rupert beheld when he thought the victory was all his own. In a moment he plunged into the thickest of the fight, cleaving his way furiously towards where the King was cheering on his dismayed troopers. "One charge more, gentlemen!" cried the unhappy Monarch, "one charge more, and the day is ours!"[1] Then, placing himself at the head of his most forward troopers, he prepared to charge. The Royal impulse communicated itself in a moment to thousands; once more they faced the enemy, and in another moment the King might have won a glorious victory, or more glorious death, when one of his courtiers, ever his curse, snatched at the King's bridle, and turned him from the path of honour to despair. Was there no hand to smite that traitor to the ground—not even the King's, that should have done it? The momentary glow in the King's breast was past; he suffered himself to be led away like a child; he turned his back upon his enemy, his kingdom, and his honour. Rupert just then came up, but it was too late; the battle-heart of his men was broken; the Horse were in disgraceful and tumultuous retreat. Vainly he strove to rally even his own devoted cavalry. They, too, were unmanned. All was over except the slaughter. The enemy poured in from every side, all was abandoned to them: some regiments of infantry fought with desperate and hopeless valour to the last, but the Horse were already over the far hills leaving their Foot, their artillery, and even their women behind them. The Puritans flew upon these helpless vic-

---

[1] "In this posture," says Vicars ("Jehovah Jireh," 160), "we marched to meet our resolute enemy, who, I confess, seemed unto us to come on with undaunted courage: and who would not, having a King with them that was able to honour them at present, and to promise large revenues afterwards to all those that fought valiantly?"

[2] Letter from Okey, who commanded the Parliament's dragoons, in King's Collection, No. 212.

[3] "With such gallantry as few ever saw the like."—"*Parliamentary Weekly Account*" *for* 1645.

---

[1] Rushworth, secretary to Fairfax, was here ensconced: he has taken the account of the battle, however, entirely from Chaplain Sprigge. The ancient Germans made use of no other defence to their camps than a barrier of waggons, with which they formed the precinct. I am told that even in later years this mode of defence has been used, and called Waggenburg, or the camp of waggons. Rupert is described as wearing a red *montero*, or short cloak, "like that of Fairfax."

---

[1] Vicars' "Jehovah Jireh."

---

[1] Vicars' "Jehovah Jireh."

tims with all the fury of fanaticism; three hundred were slain, and "most of the others" had their fair faces cut and slashed by the "godly" in their hideous glee.[1]

The whole of the King's infantry, in short, were slain or made prisoners. The cavalry, for the most part, reached Leicester in most disgraceful rout, and many of them fled on to Newark, thirty miles from the field of battle. Among the slain on the King's side were Sir Thomas Dallison, Sir Richard Cave (our correspondent), Sir Peter Brown, Colonel Thomas, and about one hundred and fifty other gentlemen.

The pursuit was carried hotly on for fourteen miles, almost the whole way to Leicester. Nearly half the Royal army,—"five thousand men were slain or taken prisoners."[2]

---

[1] This seems almost incredible, but it is exultingly dwelt upon by the Puritan historian, Vicars, in his "Jehovah Jireh:" he says, "one hundred of them were slain upon the ground, and most of the rest were marked in their faces or noses with *slashes and cuts,* and some *cut off,* just rewards for such wicked queans." Many of these were officers' wives; many others, poor wretches, however, no doubt were sinful enough, as the Rev. Mr. Vicars says, but all were slaughtered indiscriminately under the title of "Irishwomen;" it was said these last had *skenes,* or long knives, to cut their prisoners' throats with. Vicars afterwards says more candidly that there were "slain on the whole, in fight and flight, about three thousand men, and between *three and four hundred* Irish queans; four lords mortally wounded, Prince Rupert bruised, and Sir Jacob Astley hurt on the head." Mr. Vicars thus concludes:—"Thus now, indeed, did the Lord shew himself, as Moses sweetly sets him out, triumphing gloriously, and overthrowing both the horse and the rider."—*Vicars' "Jehovah Jireh,"* part 4, 1644.

[2] Carlyle's "Cromwell," i. 233.

The Roundheads had the most complete victory that they could desire. Yet "nothing," as the Parliament writers affirm, "could equal the gallantry of the Cavaliers, except their want of discipline." The Roundheads, dogged and stern, rallied slowly but firmly after every defeat or triumph; the Cavaliers scarcely ever could be brought to a second formation;—scarcely even when their King called upon them in accents of despair to make one united effort for his dying cause.

The Royal standard was taken; the Queen's white colours, the two Palatine Princes', and the Duke of York's colours, all were captured, together with the colours of every infantry regiment on the field.[1]

---

[1] Here is the relation of a Puritan eye-witness after the fight—

"I saw the field so bestrewed with carcasses of horses and men as was most sad to behold, because subjects under one government; but most happy in this because they were most of them professed enemies of God and of his Son. The field was about a mile wide when the battle was fought. The bodies lay slain about four miles in length, the most thick on the hill where the King stood. I cannot think there were less than four hundred men slain there, and truly, I think, not many more, and near three hundred horse. We took at least four thousand prisoners between Naseby and Harborough—near three hundred carriages, twelve of which were ordnance, one drawn by twenty-six horses, carrying a twenty-four pound bullet. There were many carts laden with rich plunder, which the soldiers soon emptied as they did the middle sort of ammunition-women [*queans*, as Vicars calls them] who were full of money and rich apparel; there being at least one hundred and fifty of that tribe. The gentiles were in coaches, whereof I only saw seven taken, stuffed with that commodity, and the common rabble of common vermin on foot, five hundred of whom are kept under guard until order was taken to dispose of them and their mates" [in slaughter]. —*Special Relation, King's Coll.* 212.

All the bag and baggage, too, belonging to the Cavaliers, with all their wealth, was seized. The heaviest loss of all was the King's cabinet of letters containing his private correspondence with the Queen and others, who were but too much in his confidence.[1]

These papers were immediately read in public by the Roundheads, and commented upon before an assembly of citizens in Guildhall. The Parliament deduced from them that the King had never sincerely desired a treaty: that his insincerity was incorrigible, that it was vain to seek for peace with one whom no oaths could bind.[2]

---

[1] This celebrated collection of letters was immediately published by the Parliament, and the world then, and for the most part now, believed and believes his correspondence to have been one tissue of perjury and falsehood. Those who take the trouble to read these letters (Harleian Miscellany, v. 514), will be surprised to find on what slight foundation this assertion has been founded. The fondest affection for the Queen, indeed, breathes through all the letters, and the most unbounded confidence; there is many a political intrigue alluded to, and many matters confessed to the Queen, that never had been related to the public; but, considering the reputed falsehood of the King, and the tortuous line of action in which he was compelled to wander in avoiding his innumerable and implacable enemies from within and from without; considering all this, the accusations against him seem to owe much of their weight to party-feeling. If the dark and crafty Cromwell's, or the deep and plotting Pym's most private correspondence had been laid open to the world by their enemies, how would it stand in comparison? The former of these two professed that it was lawful to play the knave with a knave, and the latter acted on the axiom. See Appendix.

[2] Of these letters, when published, the King himself says, amongst other things, "Nor can any man's malice be gratified further by my letters than to see my constancy to my wife, the laws, and religion: bees will gather honey where the spider sucks poison. The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury my expressions can do them; for, although the confidence of

The King was now a fugitive: he and Prince Rupert fled, together with such few troopers as could be collected, to Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Thence by Lichfield, Bewdley, Bromyard, to Hereford. Here Gerrard, with two thousand men, joined the Royal banner (the standard was gone), and immediate steps were taken to raise levies out of Wales. Sir Edward Walker says, that the gentry "promise mountains" but that Prince Rupert having gone to Bristol to strengthen that last stronghold of the West, the levies languished, and the intended army came to nothing. From Hereford the King went to Ragland Castle, where the Marquis of Worcester[1] received him with sumptuous magnificence in his grand old castle; brought together all the nobles and gentry of the surrounding country, and restored to the wearied monarch the pomp and circumstance

---

privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such letters which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the innocency of my chief purposes cannot be so stained or misinterpreted by them as not to let all men see that I wish nothing more than a happy composure of differences with justice and honour, nor more to mine own, than my people's content who have any sparks of love or loyalty left in them, who by those my letters may be convinced that I can both act and mind mine own and my kingdom's affairs so as becomes a prince; which mine enemies have always been very loath should be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the directions and dictates of others, whom they pleased to brand with the names of evil counsellors."—*Icon Basilicon*, p. 180.

[1] "Henry Somerset, first Marquis and fifth Earl of Worcester," Mr. Lodge says, "was already an old man, when, in 1627, he succeeded to the dignities and great estates of his superb House; little, up to this time, is known of his life, but that he lived long in Spain and Italy, and was summoned by anticipation to the House of Peers, in the first Parliament of James I. He made a

of a Court. "There," says his own historian, Walker, "his Majesty stayed three weeks; and as if the genius of that place had conspired with our fates, we were there all lulled to sleep with sports and entertainments; as if no crown had been at stake, or in danger to be lost, until the marching of Fairfax after the regaining of Leicester and defeating."

It was very natural that in his trouble the King should seek refuge in the castle of his powerful and devoted subject, but that he should have passed his time in sports and entertainment in the morning, and controversies on questions of divinity in the evening, appears almost incredible. Meanwhile, the Cava-

---

clear manifestation of his loyalty in 1642, by defraying nearly the whole expense of transporting Charles and his train to York.* He raised and equipped the first regiment of horse on the King's side, and actually levied, at his own cost, two little armies in Wales. The whole of the sacrifices made by this nobleman and his sons in this cause amounted nearly to the enormous sum of a million sterling." This generous old nobleman not only gave up his wealth, but his honours, to the requirements of Charles I. I have letters before me, proving that "whereas the King desired to have the Presidency of Wales," entire as it was in the time of his Majesty's predecessors; he had requested, and the Marquis and his son had surrendered, the Lord-Lieutenancy of all the counties of South Wales. The religion to which the Marquis and his son faithfully adhered, rendered the latter very unpopular as a commander in that excited time. He yielded up in one instance the very army that he had himself raised and furnished at his own cost. This same religion prevented Charles from creating the Marquis Duke of Somerset, for which the patent was made out.

* See Lord Glamorgan's (the Marquis of Worcester's) very interesting letter in the Appendix.

liers were losing "life, and all but honour," for him almost everywhere. The peace party in Parliament had been silenced by the publication of the King's private letters, and the comments that were made thereon. The Scots, after some demur, had marched into the interior, Carlisle having been surrendered to them on honourable terms by Sir Thomas Glenham. They had lately taken a strong castle near Worcester by assault, putting every living thing within the walls to the sword. Goring had been disgracefully beaten at Lamport. Bridgewater was soon afterwards surrendered, and Hereford was besieged by the Scots. Then the King roused himself once more, and repaired in person to Glamorganshire, where the county was summoned to meet him at Cardiff.[1] The "county" came, and with it many grievances, for which it claimed redress. This the King reluctantly granted, but at the same time allowed Sir Charles Gerrard, who was especially unpopular, to upbraid them violently, and made him a baron at the time their discontent with him rose highest. Just then, Lord Gerrard's forces were defeated by Langhorne, and the Welsh declined to appear in arms notwithstanding all the Royal concessions. Then the King found it necessary to make his escape from those parts, and resolved to move towards the conquering Montrose. He passed as a fugitive by the Scottish camp, and with but few attendants. Thence, often in great want, he fled to Derbyshire. On the 14th of August, we find him at "Chatsford, the Earl of Devonshire's" (now the stately Chatsworth). Thence to Welbeck, Doncaster, Newark, and Belvoir Castle, still bravely held by its little garrison. Thence on by Huntingdon and Woburn to Oxford, which he reached on the 30th of August.

---

[1] Hither also came Rupert to invite the King to Bristol.

Here one more bright and delusive gleam of good fortune shone in upon the King's gloomy prospects: on the 31st he learned the glorious news of Montrose's triumph at Kilsyth; but for his unfortunate retreat from Lesley's men at Rotherham, the King would have been in time to share *one* victory. But his implacable destiny or incorrigible infirmity of purpose precluded every prospect of success. Still, the news of his chivalrous defender's triumph revived his spirits, and reanimated his drooping Cavaliers. Almost immediately he marched against the Scots, who were still besieging Hereford. They too had heard the news, and hastily marched away towards Scotland. The consequences of Montrose's victory were so great as almost to restore that country to the King. The army opposed to him was destroyed; Bothwell, Glasgow, Edinburgh, fell into the conqueror's hands; all the waverers rallied round his standard; Lords Douglas, Annandale, Linlithgow, and many others. Some such news as this was much wanted, after the King's weary and most bootless tour. When he had reached

Doncaster, he learned that David Lesley was at Rotherham, and without further intelligence he had turned and fled towards the South again. At that moment Lesley's horse were still sore from Montrose's victory at Kilsyth, and could scarcely have withstood the attack of the King's Cavaliers, then with him; much less that of the three thousand Yorkshiremen who were to have joined him on the morrow. His retreat was only anticipated by that of the King, for whom Montrose was vainly waiting upon the Borders; and the poor fellows who had come to the Royal rendezvous in Yorkshire "were abandoned," as Sir Edward Walker says, "to the mercy of the rebels." The same companion and historian of the King, gives sad accounts of the Royal Horse at Huntingdon and elsewhere.

The Scots had withdrawn from Hereford at the King's approach, and his Majesty was received in that well-defended town with the last loyal acclamations he was ever destined to hear. From thence he proceeded to Oxford, whence we must now return to Prince Rupert.

From the hour that Naseby fight was over, the young "Generalissimo of England" appears, to me, to have given up the cause as hopeless. None knew so well as he did, the exhausted state of the King's resources; the broken spirit of his commanders; the impossibility of making head again against the now active and resolute enemy. For all these reasons he counselled the King to come to some agreement with the Parliament, and that quickly. He and his brother Cavaliers were destined to lose everything by such a measure; but he counselled it, nevertheless; and meanwhile he exerted himself far more in warlike preparations than Digby or any of the war party among the courtiers. The first matter that claimed his attention was the rising of the Clubmen,[1] poor rustics of Dorset and Somersetshire, who, maddened by injustice and cruelty, had risen in masses, not *for* the King but against the Parliament. Even these rudely armed men were of importance to conciliate or suppress at such a time. They had made some demonstration of "placing the Prince of Wales at their head," but the difficulty was to find that head. They were without leaders or advisers and ran riot in their unwieldy strength. They now began to blow their swineherd horns at night, among the hills and glens of beautiful Somersetshire; it was rumoured that they were forming nocturnal assemblies, all to meet on a given night and pour into Bristol; merely, it seems, by its plunder, to indemnify themselves for their losses. They were nowise formidable but from their number and their English hardihood; their arms were farming implements; their banner was a torn sheet, with this rugged but intelligible distich for a motto:—

"If you take our cattle,
We will give you battle."

---

[1] Prince Rupert's Diary.

with this novel enemy, Rupert had much trouble. He vainly tried, in the first instance, to enrol these peasants under the King's standard; he then suppressed them: night after night, he was among the hills, like Claverhouse among the Covenanters, dispersing every assemblage, and at length, wearying or frightening the rustics into peaceableness.

All the events I have here briefly summed up are more or less alluded to in sundry letters which I think better to omit.[1] Only one letter from Prince Rupert occurs during this time, but that one is very interesting:—

PRINCE RUPERT TO COLONEL LEGGE.

DEAR WILL,

I have sent you back Lord Northampton's, and, according to my promise, have sent you back a spare one, Mrs. Howard's. Pray let me know what is said among

---

[1] The following document I give as being of a nature not yet presented to the reader; it contains minutes of a council of war, and the results of its too sanguine and very vain calculation :—

Present:
His Majesty.

Prince Rupert.	Duke of Richmond.
The Lord Chancellor.	Lord Astley.
Lord Digby.	General Gerrard.

Resolved, to send to General Goring, to advertise him of the rebels' movements, and to know what he intends to do.

Sir Bernard Astley's men to march hither presently from Worcester to be recruited here.

General Gerrard's foot to march for Newport and Caerl[leon], and the foot of this town to-morrow.

A despatch to the Lord Byron to require him to send Colonel Thelwell to Brecknock with the eight hundred foot that are you concerning our last defeat. Doubtless the fault of it will be put upon [cipher Rupert]. I sent you word of the truths in my last from Wolverhampton. Garrett [Gerrard ?] is about Hereford, with four thousand foot and one thousand horse; so that I hope in a short time we shall be stronger

---

ready in North Wales; Sir John . . . . . . to be sent to assist therein.

Sir William Bellenden to get all possible quantities of provisions for the army.

To send presently to break down the bridge at Ross.

Men.	Horse.	
1000	30	Sir Thomas Langford, for Monmouth; 5 July, about Newport.
500		Earl of Carbery, for Llangollen; 5 July, thence to Swansea.
800		Herbert Price, for Brecknock; 5 July, thence to Newport.
500		Sir Francis Lloyd, for Cardigan; 5 July, thence to Swansea.
1000	30	General Gerrard, for Glamorgan; 5 July, thence to Newport.
500		Sheriff Butler, Pembroke; 5 July, thence to Swansea.
2000	50	Sheriff Scudamore, Hereford.
2000	50	To Prince Maurice; 5 July, thence to Hereford.
6300		

Letters to all these generals and governors to assemble the country together.

Council of War at Hereford,
June 23, 1645.

To this I may add a fragment of a letter from Secretary Nicholas :—

> The rebels at London are very insolent upon their late victory, and extremely averse to peace, as I hear. I have advertisement that at Barnet, within ten miles of London, the King's soldiers (prisoners) fell out with their convoy; and fighting with them, many of them got away, insomuch, as it is believed, there were not carried into London above six or seven hundred prisoners, though they emptied all their garrisons of Northampton, Newport-Pagnel, and of the prisoners which they had long detained to increase the show. I have herein sent your Highness a

than ever. I doubt only the want of powder and cannon. We hear nothing at all from the enemy, but fear sufficiently. Since this business, I find Digby hath omitted nothing which might prejudice [Rupert], and this day hath drawn a letter for the King to Prince Charles, in which he crosses all things that befel here in Rupert's behalf. I have shewed this to the King, and in earnest; and if, thereupon, he should go on and send it, I shall be forced to quit generalship, and march into my . . . . towards Prince Charles, where Rupert hath received more kindness than here. Pray remember me to Sir Edward Herbert: so farewell.

Your faithful Friend,
RUPERT.

Bewdley, June 18, 1645.

---

better cipher, which when I shall understand you have received, I shall make use of, being really, sir,

Your Highness's most affectionate servant,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Oxford, 23rd June, 1645.

The following is one of many orders of a similar nature issued at this emergency:—

TO SIR JOHN OWEN, KNIGHT AND COLONEL.

SIR,

The present condition of his Majesty's affairs is such, that it is necessary to hasten the recruits for the army; in order to which I have written to the Lord Byron to speed away Colonel Thelwell with the eight hundred men which were to be levied in North Wales. I shall therefore desire you, knowing the power and interest you have in those parts, to give him all the furtherance and assistance you can for expediting the service. Wherein being confident you will not be wanting,

I rest your very loving friend,
RUPERT.*

Hereford, this 25th June, 1645.

---

* From Mr. Ormsby Gore's MSS.

The following letter, however, is of some importance, as illustrating Lord Clarendon's complaint[1] that Digby had procured such limitation in the powers of the Prince's Council, and even dictation of his place of residence, that Goring gave himself great airs thereupon. The letter subjoined[2] from Digby to Goring, privately explains why this letter was written, and encloses to that most unprincipled Cavalier a copy of the following epistle from

THE KING TO PRINCE CHARLES.

DEAR SON,

Being informed that our letter unto you of the tenth of May, from Evesham, concerning the granting of Commissions, and giving of positive orders unto the Lord Goring, hath been misunderstood there, and taken to be a lessening of your power, honour, and authority in those parts which we have entirely committed to your care; we have thought fit to express unto you, that it was far from our intention, by the said letter, to abridge or lay any restriction upon the same, but only to give you such cautions as at that time we thought necessary, concerning the exercise of that power, in those two particulars; we being still of the same opinion. But we do not at all restrain that power which we formerly granted you, but do leave you to the full exercise of it, by the advice of the Council, according to your commission and instructions, as you shall from time to time judge most for our service. And we do further allow you, by the advice of our Council aforesaid, to make your personal residence in what place soever you shall judge most expedient. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

---

[1] Hist. Rebel., vol. v. p. 188.

[2] LORD DIGBY TO LORD GORING.

DEAR GENERAL,

It having been represented here unto the King that his letter of the 10th of May to the Prince of Wales, concerning the granting of commissions, and of giving you no positive orders, was understood as a great lessening of his power and honour, and amounting to little less than a vacating of his commission. It hath been held necessary for the satisfaction of his Highness and his council to send another letter to the Prince of Wales, by way of explanation of the former; which, for fear it should be wrong represented unto you by somebody that is not well pleased with anything of that kind, I have sent you a copy of which I am confident you will approve of, and rest still more and more confident that I shall never fail of all circumstances of vigilance in all things that may concern you as being unalterably, my lord,

Your most humble, faithful servant,

GEORGE DIGBY.

Hereford, June 21, 1645.

Given at our Court at Hereford, the twentieth day of June, 1645.

BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND.

On the 26th of June Sir Edward Nicholas writes thus from Oxford:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

Since I wrote to your Highness this morning, I received a letter from Sir Richard Willis, whereof you shall herein receive a copy, as also of my last advertisements from London, which will give your Highness notice of the Scots being advanced southward. I hear that Fairfax's head-quarters were at or near Camden on Tuesday, and that the last night he was at Chipping Norton. I am very credibly advertised that Fairfax's Council of War, held on Monday, resolved that their design should be for Bristol. I hear he hath not in all above one thousand three hundred horse, foot and dragoons, and that he hath left all his ordnance carriages in Warwick Castle, and carries on horseback such munition as he thinks necessary for his use; whereby, I suppose, they conceive they have a treacherous party for them in Bristol, or else they would never have resolved to go thither without ordnance. Some of the officers under Fairfax affirm that Cromwell is sent for, upon complaint of the Synod, to appear at London within forty days, upon pain of being banished the kingdom; which shews that the Scots are advanced, as Sir R. Willis writes. The clubmen in Hampshire and Wiltshire grow numerous, and, I hear, very stout. They have above five hundred arms in Hampshire. The rebels have given orders for suppressing of them. I have heard nothing from the King since he was at Wolverhampton. God prosper all your Highness's noble designs with a happy success.

So prays, Sir,
Your Highness's most humble Servant,
Oxford, 26th June, 1645. EDWARD NICHOLAS.

The Prince of Wales was all this time at Barnstaple, as much as possible out of harm's way, the plague raging at Bristol and Winchester. It appears that Rupert found time to pay him a flying visit there.

[ADDRESS ERASED.]

SIR,

It was not my fortune to see you after I had taken leave of the Prince. I have therefore entrusted this gentleman, Arthur Trevor, with my earnest desire to you, not doubting your willingness to favour me in a business of that nature and concern to me, which will put an eternal obligation upon your faithful and loving friend

Tiverton, June 31, 1645. RUPERT.[1]

---

[1] For this letter I am indebted to Lord John Fitzroy. It appears from the following one that Goring endeavoured to dissuade Prince Rupert from venturing to see the Prince of Wales:—

SIR,

Upon certain notice of the enemy's approach, with above two thousand horse and eleven hundred foot, out of Lyme, to relieve

Here follows a very remarkable letter from Lord Digby; it is very characteristic at once of his subtle and intriguing, yet generous and gallant nature, which was full of contradictions. He endeavours very ingeniously to win over Legge to his side of the quarrel, as regarded Prince Rupert, at the same time that he bears handsome testimony to the falseness of assertions against Prince Rupert's conduct at Naseby. This absolution from an enemy, compared with Rupert's own expression to Will Legge, a few pages back, is very interesting; there the Prince says, "Doubtless the fault will be laid on me." But Lord Digby speaks for himself:—

MY DEAR GOVERNOR,

I thank you for your kindness of the 22nd of June, and I joy much to find that our late misfortune works no more dejection amongst you, but that it rather quickens you in his Majesty's service. Our levies here in Wales go on cheerfully, as I have acquainted my brother secretary more particularly, to whom I refer you: and I make no

---

Taunton, we are forced to draw off, and endeavour to intercept their joining by lying at Chard, so that your Highness's passage to Barnstaple will not be safe by Bridgewater, nor any other way but by sea or by this army. If we could have the honour to see your Highness here, we should be all very much rejoiced at that happiness, assuring your Highness faithfully there is not a creature here that is not of your devotion, and amongst them none in the world more than

Your Highness's most humble, faithful, and obedient servant,
GEORGE GORING.

Sunday, June 29, 1645.

I do passionately desire the honour to wait upon your Highness; if it cannot be here, I beseech you direct me where I will send my despatch of business after this to your Highness.

question, if God bless us but with probable success in the West, we shall quickly see ourselves in as good a condition as ever. I cannot but understand it as a respect to me, that you permitted not my servant Felton to be molested before you acquainted me with the occasion: but now you have done so, if he have played the fool in that kind, let him suffer for it: but I believe him too discreet a man, and he swears the contrary in a letter to one of my secretaries, where he takes notice of such a report raised upon him, as he believes, in malice to me. I am sure that Prince Rupert hath so little kindness for me, as I daily find he hath, it imports both to me and mine to be much the more cautious not to speak anything that may be wrested to his prejudice. I can but lament my misfortune that Prince Rupert is neither gainable nor tenable by me, though I have endured it with all the industry and justness unto him in the world, and I lament your absence from him. Yet, at least, if Prince Rupert cannot be better inclined towards me, that yet you might prevail with him so far as that his heats and misapprehensions of things may not wound his own honour, and prejudice the King's service. I am very unhappy that I cannot speak with you, since the discourse that my heart is full of is too long for a letter, and of a nature not fit for it. But I conjure you, if you preserve that justice and kindness for me which I will not doubt, if you hear anything from Prince Rupert concerning me, suspend your judgment. As for the particular aspersion upon him which you mention, of *fighting against advice, he is very much wronged in it*, whether you mean in the general or in the particular of that day. For in the general, when contrary to the advice of so many it was once resolved that we should march that way we did, it was then the unanimous opinion of all that if Fairfax should follow us near, we ought to turn upon him and fight with him, before he could join with the Scots: and for the particular time, place, and circumstance of our fighting that day, his Highness cannot be said to have gone against my Lord Astley, or any other advice: for I am confident no man was asked upon the occasion,—I am sure no council was called. I shall only say this freely to you, that I think a principal occasion of our misfortune was the want of you with us; for had you been there, I am persuaded that when once we have come up so near them as that they could not go from us, you would at least have asked some questions, whether, having store of provisions with us, we should not rather have tried to bring them to our post, than to have assaulted them instantly in theirs. That if it were resolved we must assail them, you would have asked the question whether it had not been fit rather to have advanced to or gained some place where our cannon might have been of some use, than to have drawn up hill against them, so as never to make use of one piece. And lastly, that before we joined battle, whether it would not have been convenient to have viewed the enemy's strength and posture, rather than to have left it to this hour in dispute whether the enemy had not three thousand men in reserve more than those we fought with; which Sir William Vaughan, who charged quite through those bodies which were in our eye, positively affirms. I make no doubt but you would also have asked some material questions concerning a reserve, and the placing of the King's person first where it should not have been suddenly involved in the confusion. But really, dear Will, I do not write this with reflection, for indeed we were all carried on at that time with such a spirit and confidence of victory as though he that should have said "consider" would have been your foe; and so did your fate lead, as scarcely one of us did think of a queer objection, which, after the ill success, every child could light on. Well, let us look forward; give your Prince good advice as to caution, and value of counsel, and God will yet make him an instrument of much happiness to the King and kingdom, and that being, I will adore him as much as you love him, though he should hate as much

Your faithfullest friend and servant,
GEORGE DIGBY.

[No date.]

To this letter we fortunately find the answer; it is manly, high spirited, and true-hearted; such as any honourable man would be proud to have written by a friend, and arguing such a friend as none but an honourable man could have. "Honest Will Legge," an epithet in itself of the highest honour, thus writes in reply to the diplomatic Lord.

COLONEL LEGGE TO LORD DIGBY.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have received your Lordship's letter of June 30th, with the duplicate thereof, for which I am bound to give your Lordship most humble thanks; as also for that comfort you gave me in His Majesty's hopeful condition, whereby, by God's help, he may recover his late losses. I do assure your Lordship it was out of great respect to you that your servant, Felton, did not feel a reward for his folly. Your Lordship may hold him discreet, and so did I by many years' knowledge of him; yet, my Lord, what I accused him of in my letter to you, were no more than what he confessed himself to me he reported; which was, that Prince Rupert did that day[1] fight contrary to the opinions of my Lord Astley; and these words were not all he spoke by the information I had, but so much of it as he confessed to me, and all that, as I remember, I accused him of to you. With people much distracted for the great loss, these words went far to the Prince's prejudice; and though he writes to your Secretary that this report was raised on him out of malice to you, he assures your Lordship it will not be beaten out of the heads of many that his report was out of malice to the Prince. I am extremely afflicted to understand from you that Prince Rupert and yourself should be upon so unkindly terms, and I protest I have cordially endeavoured, with all my interest in his Highness, to incline him to a friendship with your Lordship conceiving it a matter of advantage to my master's service, to have good intelligence between persons so eminently employed in his affairs; as likewise the great obligation and inclination I had to some either of you in particular. But, my Lord, I often found this a hard matter to hold between you; and truly, my Lord, your last letter to me gives me some cause to think your Lordship not altogether free from what he often accused you of as the reason of his jealousies; which was, that you did both say and do things to his prejudice contrary to your professions, not in an open and direct line, but obscurely and obliquely; and this way, under your Lordship's pardon, I find your letter, in my understanding, very full of. For, where your Lordship would excuse him of the particular and general aspersions, yet you come with such objections against the conduct of that business, as would, to men ignorant of the Prince, make him incapable of common sense in his profession. For my part, my Lord, I am so well acquainted with the Prince's way, that I am confident all his General Officers and Commanders knew beforehand how or in what manner he intended to fight; and when, as you say, all mankind were of opinion to fight, his part was to put it in execution. Were any man in the army dissatisfied in his directions, or in the order, he ought to have informed the General of it, and to have received further satisfaction. And, for the not calling of a Council at the instant, truly, the Prince having before laid his business, were there need of it, the blame must be as much yours as any man's, either in not considering how fit it were to be called, or having conceived it fit, at least in not moving of it. I cannot but conceive it the partiality of your Lordship's wonted favours towards me, that you impute the misfortune of the day to my absence. But I cannot have the vanity to pretend I should have done wiser than, as you confess, the wisest among you had thought of. And, I am very well assured, by my own experience at other times, and the report of divers in that action, divers of the questions you put would have been impertinent; as the questioning whether we should not endeavour their coming to our post, much more would be alleged against it than for it. And the resolution being taken, to endeavour the gaining a ground of advantage, to make use of our cannon: by the report of divers officers that served that day, both sides laboured so earnestly for that ground, as rendered the cannon of either side useless; by which the rebels had the same disadvantage ours had. And, for viewing the enemy, to be satisfied in their numbers and posture, I will not say but, could it be done, it would have been very fit before both armies were engaged face to face. I am sure it might have been too late then to have stood upon the ceremony. For the reserve, I am told, and do believe there was a reserve, though I cannot warrant their performance of their duties; having divers times known a failure of that kind when the General was not in fault. And, for placing the King's person; truly, I conceive, if that were not enough considered, the fault must be more in his Council, and the attendants of his person, than in one who had the care and management of an army in his head upon a day of battle. But your Lordship says, you write none of these things with reflection; yet, let me frankly tell your Lordship, no impartial man that reads your letters to me and others, will free you from that, nay, charge you with it in a very great measure: and this truth you must pardon me in declaring to you. And assure yourself you are not free from great blame towards Prince Rupert; and no man will give you this free language at a cheaper rate than myself, though many discourse of it.

---

[1] At Naseby.

From Colonel Legge, in answer to Lord Digby's,
from Hereford, June 30, 1645.

The two next letters from the King are illustrative of what has been already stated:—

NEPHEW,

I shall not cross your orders by any directions of mine; yet I would have you consider, if both your Brother and Washington be drawn out of Worcester, if that place will be safe: for I hear that Sam. Sandys is at present highly discontent, having not yet worn his sword since his restraint: and I have, divers ways, intelligence, that the Northern rebels are likely shortly to besiege that town. I likewise desire your opinion, how soon I shall pass the water [from Cardiff to Bristol, or into Devonshire], because all the forces, which are already levied, I believe will be transported within the five or six days, and it will be these ten days, at soonest, before the rest can be at the water-side. Now, I would be loath to stay for these last, because, before then, it is likely that there will be some action of moment: and yet I know not whom to leave beyond me, to bring up the last recruits: and if I leave none, I shall certainly have a very ill account of them. So, desiring your answer as soon as you can, I rest,

Your loving Uncle and most faithful friend,
CHARLES R.

[Not dated; must be "Cardiff."]
Saturday, July 1, 1645.

NEPHEW,

I received your despatch and advice, by Culpepper, all which I so fully approve, that I have sent all your orders, according to their several directions, and will take care that they be obeyed. Desiring to hear speedily from you, that our men may not be delayed in their transportation; for I much fear that the rebel ships may much hinder us, if we be not diligent. I have fair promises for the new levies, which I will hasten as much as may be.

So I rest, your loving Uncle, and most faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

Abergavenny, 3rd July, 1645.

Upon my word, I find Culpepper extremely well satisfied with you; and for your proportion, his expression is, that he concurs with it as fully as if it were his own, but that you must have the honour of it; there being no other way but this to recover our misfortunes.

Subjoined there is an extract from M. de Sabran, then French minister, or rather spy upon both the King and the Parliament.[1] Prince Maurice is

---

[1] M. de Sabran à M. de Brienne:—"L'on renvoye fort l'eschec dernier que le Roy a reçu sur Goring [at Lamport] lequel on dit avoir opiniatré le siége de Taunton, malgré le commandement ritéré que sa Majesté lui avait fait, de s'approcher de lui." Then follows the narration of the divisions in Parliament, and of suspicions arising from the discovery of a letter written from Oxford to the Earl of Sussex, warning him against communicating certain intelligence to Mr. Holles, a member of the House of Commons, as he was in correspondence with Digby; upon which Holles had informed on Sussex, was himself committed to the Tower, and called to account for what he had done in the service of Parliament, though without its sanction, promising to Goring ten thousand pieces if he would surrender himself, and everything under his command, to the Parliament.

Sabran states that the King caused the guard who had charge of his cabinet, taken at Naseby, to be hung, July 6th, 1645. MSS. British Museum, 5461. He expresses great satisfaction that nothing appeared in this correspondence, by which the neutrality that France professed was compromised in the eyes of the English Parliament, who deputed to him their compliments for now at Worcester, when he writes thus on the 7th of July:—

TO PRINCE RUPERT.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have appointed Sir William Vaughan, with yours, mine, and his own regiments, with Colonel Maxwell's troop of horse, to attend your commands at Bristol, and would have been there myself, according to your second orders that I received this day; but the Scots being advanced very near us, with an intention, as is conceived, to besiege this place, I could not remove from hence without putting this town into a great distraction; besides the dishonour that would thereby reflect on me. I hope, when you have duly considered my engagement herein, you will be pleased to excuse me, in not observing your orders to be personally with you. Even now, fresh intelligence is brought me, that the enemy is within four miles of us. By your cipher, you may observe, that 15, 26, 342, 148, 136, 13, 325, 162, 84, 212, 26, 334, 61, 340, 199, 39, 328, 353, 149, 49, 329, 26, 351, 397, 150, 100, 148, 212, 66, 336, 156, 217, 28, 229, 355, 82, 16, 15, 194, 229, 214, 84, 324, 131, 293, 252, 355, 150, 293, 148, 231, 22, 194, 228, 293, 323, 151, 351. Garrison, 6, 15, 148, 64, 229, 354, 37, 323, 217, 41, 398, 373, 150, 172, 170, 48, 227, 214, 293, 148, 66, 84, 270, 361. Accordingly, 151, 244, 229, 149, 213, 324, 239, 274, 185, 12, 15. I am, your loving Brother,

MAURICE.

Worcester, 7th July, 1645.
For his Majesty's special service.
To my dear brother Prince Rupert,
Prince Palatine, &c.
Haste, haste, post haste!

---

the candour of Versailles in relation to the affairs of England. The most important negotiations with foreign States were those between the King and the Envoy of Portugal.—*Addit. MS. British Museum.*

Sir Edward Hyde writes next, as usual as if he were writing history; Goring is vapouring near Lamport, in a strong position, but almost always drunk, as was his fashion; especially when the enemy was near:—

FROM SIR EDWARD HYDE TO PRINCE RUPERT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I received your Highness's of the 4th, this morning, and shall with great devotion pray for your safe and speedy march to these parts, where I hope General Goring will be able to expect your coming. We heard this day from Bridgewater, for from himself we have nothing, that he is like to defend his quarters well against any attempt of the enemy; and we are making all possible provision of victual to send to him. The thousand muskets which Marsh hath sent, are the Bristol muskets, so that, except you have otherwise disposed of them, he hath still two thousand which were sent him hence of those which Hadscombe brought over, and are no worse that those your Highness had when you were here. I hope my Lord Hawley hath satisfied you of the hundred barrels of powder, for which we have his receipt: I presume he sent it to . . . . The garrison of Bridgewater will be able to assist you with a reasonable proportion, for I am confident there are not so few as an hundred barrels there. We expect every day to hear that some good quantities are landed, though the last despatch we made from France hath miscarried, the ship being taken and carried into . . . . . . For God's sake, sir, prevent any accidents that may make us less at unity amongst ourselves, and then I am confident the enemy will not prevail. You will receive no less honour by well tempering those affections, than by your conduct in the war.

The Prince intends on Friday to go for Cornwall: as soon as I hear your Highness is in these parts, you shall be frequently and particularly informed by

Your Highness's most dutiful and obedient servant,
EDWARD HYDE.

Barnstaple, 8th July, 12 at noon.

The King, once more enjoying the comfort and magnificence of Ragland Castle, is sanguine about his new army; nor is it very clear why Fairfax has left his Majesty at leisure so long to raise it. Lord Digby thus writes to Lord Jermyn: his letter gives us some insight into various matters.

FROM LORD DIGBY TO LORD JERMYN.

We shall have an army fit to fight for a kingdom, and the King promises that his nephew shall content himself with the honour of action, and take all military resolutions from counsel and debate, which, could it have been sooner obtained, we should not have been now put to such an unhappy after-game. You have often conjured me to endeavour a good correspondence with Prince Rupert, which I have industriously obeyed, and I thought myself very well with him, until of late, without ever taking notice to me that he was dissatisfied at anything, he is fallen to a greater distance with me, and a more professed enmity against me than ever. The cause, as I am told by others, is my advice to the King to have gone to Oxford from Daintry, instead of going back to Harborough, and my advising the King to write a letter to the Prince of Wales, contrary to Prince Rupert's opinion, though urged unto it by my own reason and the unanimous pressure of all the Prince's council, even to a degree of quitting all without it, although in both cases I went, not underhand, but declared unto Prince Rupert what I thought myself bound to do, and as I understood it to his satisfaction. I shall instruct this bearer at large with the particulars, being a discreet youth fit to be encouraged by you, and I think much of Prince Rupert's servant. Really, my lord, if I have either temper or truth, I have not failed in any point of application to that Prince, as far as the King's service could possibly allow me; now that we are going into the West, where there will be more of the King's council, and of more valuable judgment than myself, I believe I shall be able to hold the duty of my place in the King's service, without making it suffer by his animosities against me, but should his Majesty have continued with Prince Rupert, and I only attending him as a Minister of State, I, who have long since resolved to serve him no longer than I may be useful to him, I should have thought it my duty to have betaken myself to other course than where I was, inconsistent with one so much more necessary to the conduct of his affairs, and in the way wherein we are now going, trust me that nothing shall provoke me to disserve Prince Rupert, whilst he is judged capable to serve the King.

[My Lord Digby was resolved that reservation should not long continue. The letter breaks off abruptly at the last sentence.]

Ragland Castle, 10th July, 1645.

On the 11th of July Sir Edward Nicholas writes an almost undecipherable letter to Prince Rupert, stating that the Scots approach Worcester in number about five or six thousand fighting men, together with two thousand Englishmen under Gell and Brereton, with twenty guns. I have merely mentioned that Goring was beaten at Lamport; here is his own account of the matter: it is only from the laboured length and somewhat humbled tone of the document, that we may gather he was somewhat ashamed of the transaction:—

COPY OF LORD GORING'S LETTER TO LORD DIGBY.

MY LORD,

Since your letter, which I sent on Wednesday, at night, to the Governor of Bridgewater, to acquaint your Lordship with the disorder that happened in our horse-quarters, we could not disengage ourselves from the rebels without the certain loss of our cannon and hazard of the army, if we had retreated that night; the enemy having been close about us on every side; our horse having been very much shattered, with the disorder that day; the way being passable for our cannon that side, and there having been not one day's provision in Lamport. We passed, therefore, our horse over the river next day, endeavouring to make our retreat to Burrowe; but the enemy drew up too fast against us, that we were forced to face them, and endeavour to keep a pass, through which they were to come towards us. This gentleman will tell your Lordship the particulars. Upon the whole matter, they forced the pass, and routed our horse, which only made one seasonable charge, till our foot got into Lamport, which way my Lord Wentworth retired, with some of our horse; and he and Sir Joseph Wagstaff brought off all our foot to Bridgewater, without the loss of two hundred. There was only two pieces of cannon lost. The rest of our horse ran another way towards Bridgewater, and could never be brought to rally, but in small and disorderly bodies. Our loss was not great, for we are told by one of the enemy, there were not three hundred prisoners, and, I am very confident, we had not twenty men killed. But the consequence of this blow is very much; for there is so great a terror and dejection amongst our men, that I am confident, at this point, they could not be brought to fight against half their number. It is very much to be feared, that the clubmen will take the strongest side. They stopped provisions from our army, and killed some of our men. Fairfax is most certainly eighteen thousand horse and foot. One of his captains, that is prisoner, saith, he will certainly follow us with his whole body; pretending that Gell and Brereton are able to follow the King. We have between three and four thousand foot, besides Prince Rupert's regiment, which is left in Bridgewater, and almost two hundred in Burrowe; some two thousand five hundred horse, besides some that took their course towards Bristol, and besides Sir Lewis Dives's horse, which were to attend the enemy upon their rear; most of the Western horse are gone home of their own accord. And now I have done my duty, in representing to his Majesty, the true state of our condition here, I shall first beseech your Lordship, to be assured, that whatsoever his Majesty shall please to command us to undertake, I will attempt it, what difficulties soever are in our way. My humble opinion is, that the forces before Plymouth, the trained bands of Cornwall, the forces that were at Autry, all that can be out of Devonshire, be drawn speedily into a body, with these I have to secure Devonshire and Cornwall; and the greatest magazines of victuals that can be raised with all possible speed. If this can be done before Fairfax marches to us with his army, I hope we shall be able to oppose him: if not, or, at least, if the Cornish trained bands will not join with us, for the defence of their country; and have no way left to preserve these men, but to put them into garrisons; to which effect I have written to the Prince: and shall dispose of these troopers according to his Highness's order. But I hope these counties are so loyal and honest, that they will unite all their force and power, to oppose these villains. I shall beg your Lordship's pardon, if I make one humble suit to the King, by your Lordship. That if the King finds he cannot get a body together, I may know it speedily: for I have a way propounded of getting an army very quickly, which appears very probable. My dear Lord, let me hear from you as soon as you can, and be assured I am perfectly

Your most humble, faithful servant,
George Goring.

Dunster, July 12, 1645, 1 at morning, Saturday.

The following letter shews vividly the anxious state of the King's Council at Ragland. It also alludes to Lord Glamorgan's celebrated mission into Ireland, and to the fruits of it. When it had appeared that this nobleman's zealous efforts to serve the King were neutralized by his being a Roman Catholic, Charles diplomatically determined to send him to Ireland, certain that his faith would be a recommendation there instead of the reverse: moreover, his natural sense of injury on finding himself untrusted in his own Principality, was atoned for by this commission into Ireland.[1] How far that com-

---

[1] The following letter from Lord Glamorgan to his father, the Marquis of Worcester, is interesting as illustrating the reverential style of sons in addressing their fathers at this period; it also throws some light on the private character of its remarkable writer:—

May it please your Lordship,

Amongst other memorable expressions which have taken deep root in my heart, I assure your Lordship, that those you were pleased to use towards me on Sunday last shall never be defaced out of my memory; for you were pleased so to interlace terror and comfort, as that I knew not whether joy or fear possessed me most, or whether you shewed more justice or clemency; but at last a tender fatherly affection appeared to steer your mission really extended I have no means of ascertaining. Among the papers which the Duke of Beaufort has kindly entrusted to my examination I can find no trace of any further power than that of levying troops for the King's service. It appears, from the following letter, that Lord Glamorgan was as successful in the raising of armies in Ireland as in his own country. For the rest, I must refer to his Lordship's curious and important written speech in the Appendix. I regret very much that its length does not allow me to introduce it here.[1] Even the following letter is almost too

---

words and deeds, which shall be, God willing, answered with a filial duty and tenderness, and your unparalleled goodness shall not, with God Almighty's grace, undo, but strengthen me in my duty to God and your Lordship, with as much zeal and true-hearted devotion as can be witnessed, with the uttermost endeavours of thought, word, and deed lying in the power and uttermost abilities which I can at any time attain unto, whose ambition is not greater to anything in this world than really and entirely to appear, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most dutifully obedient son,
and most devoted servant,
August 13, 1645. ED. HERBERT.

[1] The following document proves the pecuniary difficulties that the King found himself placed in at the very commencement of the war; it also shews something of his Majesty's diplomatic dealings:—

MEM.—The effect of the message your Majesty desireth I should deliver to my father from your Majesty at Nottingham, the 9th of September, 1642. [Lord Glamorgan seems to have written this down when it was delivered, and shewn it to the King.]

That your Majesty, with many thanks, expressed yourself most "sensible of the great expense and charge his lordship had been at for your service, far more than any man else, considering what lengthy, but it is too important to this crisis to be passed over :—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I have received this day the enclosed account from General Goring of his last ill success and present condition; as also a letter from your Highness, containing your resolutions as to Bristol. His Majesty hath had a debate

---

I [*i. e.* his Majesty] have had, as well as Sir John Byron. That it is most true all this time much lieth at stake, both of your Majesty's honour and power, for want of a little money, since 20,000*l.* with what you have would further your Majesty's designs to a most hopeful condition; for want whereof your Majesty is enforced to *dally, though you will never yield*, and at this present you offer that which is worth 100,000*l.* for 50,000*l.*, besides my Lord Capel, Sir William Saville, and others of good estates do also offer theirs for security; yet no want nor occasion can make your Majesty to press my lord, who hath already done so much, but if he and his friends could procure 10,000*l.*, your Majesty would suddenly, if it please God to restore you, see it repaid, and would presently, in token of thankfulness, send my father the Garter, to be put on when he pleased, and also, having the Great Seal in your Majesty's own custody, you would pass a patent of Marquis of what title my father should desire, and keep it private as long as he thought fitting [as was afterwards done concerning the Dukedom]; and to shew that this proposition is far from urging him to his inconvenience, and so much doth your Majesty acknowledge yourself already beholding to him, as that, even without procuring your Majesty this unspeakable advantage, your Majesty is graciously pleased that if he desire either or both these, your Majesty at my return unto you will vouchsafe them; but if this could be possibly performed, then the Crown, which hitherto *your Majesty confesseth to stay upon your head by his assistance*, will be then confirmed by him; and your Majesty esteemeth so much of his understanding as well as passionate zeal to your service, that if he will send your Majesty his advice, upon the relation of the state of businesses which your Majesty hath commanded me to make unto him, your Majesty will as soon follow it as any man's, &c.*

---

* For this curious paper I am indebted to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort.

here in council upon the whole matter of his affairs; and commands me to state unto your Highness his opinion in all particulars resulting from it; which, if it concur with your Highness's judgment, you will be pleased to apply yourself and your orders where you shall judge them necessary accordingly; but if your Highness shall differ in opinion, your Highness is earnestly desired by his Majesty to hasten over hither to him, that his Majesty may take a clearer and fuller review of his business by your Highness's presence and assistance, and that resolution upon the whole may be settled with your approbation. There are three things of principal consideration in our business:—One, what to be done in the West in order to the resisting Fairfax; another, what to be done in Wales in order to the preserving of it, and to the forming of a new force here; and how the King should dispose of his own person. For the first, it is the unanimous, and as his Majesty conceives, indisputable opinion, that, as the case stands in the West, there is nothing else to be done but what General Goring proposes: that is, to draw all the forces that persuasion and the Prince of Wales's authority can prevail with, out of Devonshire, Cornwall, and from before Plymouth, and to join with Goring, wherewith he may be able to give them battle, or at least to defend the passes into the heart of Devonshire, so as that the rebel army may be wearied out and distressed for provisions, whilst we make the greatest magazines we can in Exeter and Barnstaple; the latter of which places we shall take care to supply in the best measure we can from this side the water: and to this effect pressing letters are sending unto the Prince of Wales's Council. In case we cannot draw a considerable body together to effect either of these, there remains then nothing to be done, but as General Goring says, to draw into garrison; but it is hoped we shall not be reduced to that. To the second, concerning Wales, it is thought absolutely necessary that it be not abandoned, but that the horse, with General Gerrard, according to your Highness's directions, be drawn back and disposed of to the best advantage for the defence of it, to which purpose his Majesty hath sent him orders to stop his march round to the West, and to command his attendance on his Majesty to advise of the rest. It is conceived that if Wales be well managed, and let see that we intend the defence of it, far greater levies may yet be made here; especially if it be found fit for the King to stay in these countries, and that the news be true which was yesterday brought us very positively by a Major from Carnarvon, that my Lord of Glamorgan is landed in Anglesea with a very great body of Irish; and he that brought the news swears that he met with Sir Marmaduke Langdale himself going with his horse to join with them. To the third point, which concerns the King's own person, it is conceived that General Goring being now so far retreated into Devonshire, and the enemy following, it is not possible for any more forces from hence, or for any of those on the other side not yet joined, to pass to him; and that for the King's person it cannot be conveyed thither without infinite danger; and that were that practicable, it would be very imprudent to engage both his and his son's person in the same corner upon such uncertainties before so powerful an enemy, whereas probably, his person cannot contribute much more to the strengthening of General Goring out of Devonshire and Cornwall than the Prince of Wales's will do without him, so that it is unanimously understood here to be the safest and most effectual course for his Majesty to cherish these parts with his presence—to endeavour new levies here and out of them, and what may be hoped from Ireland, to form a new army, where in the interim it is hoped that what with these new levies of the 15th, with Charles Gerrard's remaining foot and with his horse recalled, it will be safe enough for him, yea though the Scots should come into Wales; for we should be able to starve a great army and beat a little one, especially if your Highness should think fit to send back hither those men that went over with Sir Bernard Astley, which is only proposed unto your Highness, to do therein as you shall think fit. As for your Highness's resolution concerning Bristol, his Majesty is extremely well pleased with your Highness's great care of that important place. I have only one thing more to add, which is, earnestly to desire your Highness to cause what muskets can be had to be sent over for the army of our new levies on the 15th; and to repeat unto your Highness that in case you shall not approve of these opinions, his Majesty expects you suddenly here, to advise him as to new resolutions. I rest

Your Highness's most humble faithful servant,

GEORGE DIGBY.

Ragland Castle, July 13, 1645.

At this period I find a letter of some importance, but it is provokingly unintelligible from its ciphers. The endorsement, which I transcribe, is the only legible part of it. It will be observed, that Rupert has complained of want of provisions for Bristol, and that the King had thoughts of seeking in Ireland the security which his own land denied him; "hunted" as he was, and as he expressed himself, with David, "like a partridge on the mountain."

The following is the endorsement that I have alluded to, with the date of "Ragland:"—

The King's intention to go for Ireland does much shake his party. He wonders why any provisions should be denied to be sent for Bristol. Great divisions in the King's Court and Camp. [cipher].

For your Highness.

The Prince now determined to visit the King at

Cardiff, and endeavour to learn his true intentions. I find the following remarkable note in the Prince's Diary:—"July 21, "He went to meet the King at Blackrock, not far from Cardiff. *Ashburnham told the Prince that Bristol* (Lord Digby he was then) *would ruin him.*" The ensuing letters will shew how often the King changed the plans that were at this time agreed upon between him and his nephew.

Meanwhile the levies and contributions go on apace,[1] as do the quarrels and jealousies of the Cava-

---

[1] TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF CARNARVON, ANGLESEA, ETC.

GENTLEMEN,

Understanding that at a meeting at Denbigh of the Lord Byron and you, the Commissioners of Carnarvon, Aylesbury, and Merioneth, the contributions of these respective counties were mutually agreed upon and settled. In pursuance thereof, I shall hereby desire you that the said contributions may be levied and paid over unto the Lord Byron, in such proportions and at such times as was there concluded upon, who is to give a discharge for what is received, which that it may be the better effected, I do desire and require that his orders therein may be obeyed. Wherein, not doubting of your ready compliance, I remain,

Your very loving friend,

Bristol, 17th July, 1645. RUPERT.*

FROM LORD ASTLEY TO PRINCE RUPERT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

Moving the King to come speedily unto your Highness, he replied he could not spare me, but would make my excuses unto your Highness. I perceive the King intends not to put over the river these last raised men, seeing they cannot come to General Goring, and he believes he may have use of them here. Therefore he is now here to deal with the Commissioners of this county, to put all or part of the new raised men of their county into this place in garrison, and so the rest into Newport, Chepstow, Carleon, Monmouth, and Abergavenny; so that if these men may be liers. Take a letter from the zealous Lord Loughborough as an instance of the spirit that began to prevail. He had long been at feud with Colonel Bagot, the Governor of Lichfield. The latter had fallen at Naseby, but his Lordship's quarrel with him still survives.[1] Indeed, the Prince's corre-

---

* From Mr. Ormsby Gore's MSS.

---

armed, and the officers put them to do duty, they may be in a short time disciplined. To-morrow the King hath appointed all the Commissioners of Monmouthshire to meet him at Ragley for this end also. And thus, in all humbleness, I rest,

Your Highness's most humble and obedient servant,
JAS. ASTLEY.

Cardiff, 17th July, 1645.
For his Highness Prince Rupert at Bristol, these.

[1] MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I received your letter by Adjutant Schrimshaw, whereby I understand your intention of giving him a command here, and therefore am bold to present these my humble desires and reasons against it. First, Colonel Lyle takes it as granted to him by your Highness to have the next power to mine in this garrison, and hath writ to me to that purpose, not doubting of your Highness's favour to him. Secondly, upon the expressions of some gentlemen of this county, to give me their best assistance in his Majesty's service if I would combine with them: I have made them that promise, and hope you will suddenly hear that this garrison is in a better condition than ever. In the third place, I beseech you, sir, give me leave to tell you that I own Adjutant Shrimshaw was the chief assistant Colonel Bagot used in his opposition against me, and our minds both too high to acknowledge a superiority, his present expressions declaring an impossibility of our agreement, which must needs be destructive to the King's service. Sir, now I have presumed to open my thought to you, I shall with all humility submit to your pleasure, and not desire to continue in this or any other command you have honoured me with longer than I am happy in your good opinion, which I have ever prized more than the greatest employment. Sir, how unfortunate soever I may be made by the report of others, yet my endeavours shall ever be to approve myself

Your Highness's constant and faithful servant,
F. LOUGHBOROUGH.

Lichfield, 25th July, 1645.

spondence at this moment presents little that is cheerful. The following despatch is from the "Scoutmaster" of the Roundheads: it was intercepted by Sir Lewis Dives, and by him forwarded to Prince Rupert:—

FROM GENERAL WATSON TO COLONEL ROE.

SIR,

I hope you have received my last, touching the taking of the north side of Bridgewater, since then we made all things ready for the storming of the other side, and thought to have fallen on this night about one o'clock. As a preparative thereto we endeavoured to fire the town this afternoon, which we effected so fully, the wind blowing in the right quarter, the enemy struck with a panic fear, not being able to endure any longer, about four o'clock sent for a parley, demanding to go away, leaving all things behind them, but the General would hearken to nothing but a submission to mercy, which by nine o'clock this night they assented to, delivering Sir Hugh Wyndham, and seven other considerable hostages for the performance of the agreement, by eight o'clock to-morrow morning. One thing I must not omit, the General's pity and commiseration of the women and children, sending them a free offer, before they began to fire, that as many as would come out should have free liberty, upon which there came out a whole regiment of women and children. Sir, I cannot but take notice how God blesses us in a series of successes. I pray God make us humble and thankful; certainly, this town, in respect of the strength and situation of it, there being in it fifty pieces of ordnance, two hundred barrels of powder, is not inferior to any in the West of England, this is all, sir, I have at present. I remain, sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,
LIEUTENANT WATSON.

Bridgewater, July 22, 1645.

P.S.—You may be pleased to move the militia, that this bearer may have some extraordinary gratuity, certainly the news deserves it. This is the Scoutmaster-General's letter of their army, the messenger that carried it, I took prisoner, and have him here in Sherborne.

LEWIS DIVES.

The King is now at Newport, having changed his plans since Prince Rupert visited him at Cardiff. He was now determined to join Montrose in Scotland:—

FROM THE KING TO PRINCE RUPERT.

NEPHEW,

I have taken a resolution which is differing from what I was most inclined to when I saw you last [viz., going to Bristol], I have thought it most necessary to advertise you of it, albeit I cannot say that the affirmative is so absolutely concluded on as the negative: the particulars being of some length and greatest secrecy, I have commanded Digby to write, I not having time myself to do it, and therefore have chosen that part which I care not who reads, to wit, my affection to you and confidence in you. I, needing no other conjuration of service to you, than that if I knew you not secret, I would not at this time impart my resolution to you.

I heartily thank you for the care you have taken in sending over the arms and powder, they being already come. As for your two regiments of foot that I promised you, you shall see that I do not forget my word, which after to-morrow, I will make more plainly appear that I am, Your loving Uncle and most faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

Newport, 24th July, 1645.

In this letter, with the King's usual reserve, he does not say one word of going into Scotland; but, as usual, every one about his Majesty who ought *not* to know his intentions, easily learned them; and so the report reached Rupert, who thereupon writes this manly remonstrance to the Duke of Richmond:—

My Lord,

It is now in everybody's mouth, that the King is going for Scotland. I must confess it to be a strange resolution; considering not only in what condition he will leave all behind him, but what probability there is for him to get thither. If I were desired to deliver my opinion what other ways the King should take, this should be my opinion, which your Lordship may declare to the King. His Majesty hath now no way left to preserve his posterity, kingdom, and nobility, but by a treaty. I believe it a more prudent way to retain something, than to lose all. If the King resolve to abandon Ireland, which now he may with honour, since they desire unreasonably; and it is apparent they will cheat the King, having not five thousand men in their power. When this has been told him, and that many of his officers and soldiers go from him to them, if he have no more consideration of such as stay, I must extremely lament their condition, being exposed to all ruin and slavery. One comfort will be left; we shall all fall together. When this is, remember I have done my duty.

Your faithful Friend,

Rupert.

Bristol, July 28, 1645.

On the 3rd of August the Duke of Richmond writes to the Prince, in answer, from Cardiff, in a cipher letter, almost unintelligible: its purport is as follows: "that his Grace shewed the King Prince Rupert's letter with as much care for the interest of the latter as was possible; that the former read it graciously, and seemed to think the difficulty lay, not in consenting to a treaty, but in asking for one:" that "anywise it is a bitter draught, the worse for having been previously tasted:" that "dear Rupert" was right to use perfect freedom, and that he had expressed "himself with the same generosity that appears in all his actions," &c.

Almost at the same time the King writes to Rupert a long letter in further reply to the Prince's communication, through the Duke of Richmond. In this his Majesty says: "speaking rather as a mere soldier or statesman, I confess there is no probability of my ruin. If I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice.—As a Christian, however, I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper,[1] or this cause to be overthrown; and whatsoever personal punishment He shall please to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less give over this quarrel. As for the Irish, I assure you they shall not cheat me; but it is possible they may cozen themselves. I am sending to Ormond such a despatch as I am sure will please you and all honest men, &c., C. R."[2] This letter was intercepted by the Parliament, who appear to have had the secret of obtaining all the King's most secret papers.

---

[1] The democrat may exult in this vain passage, as it appears: but whether the "rebels" did prosper may be held doubtful by those who consider their end, individually as well as collectively, politically as well as morally.

[2] Parl. Hist., xiv. p. 95; also Clarendon, v. 225.

The same day Rupert thus writes to Will. Legge:—

Dear Will.,

I wonder that Stevens should give you so many false alarms. We never were in better condition than now. All our officers and soldiers are paid and billeted in town. Fairfax engaged before Sherborne, and now the King is come. Let me but know when your convoys will meet us, and we will come as far as Chester, rather than fail to bring you your materials for powder. If you do not intend, Rupert will, however, go into Gloucestershire, to get subsistence for my Horse. Pray let me have an answer before Monday next, else I cannot stay for it. You should not wonder at our stay here, before you know that this town had been lost as Bridgewater was, and that the King did resolve to come to us.

Since that, he altered his resolution, without my knowledge. He did send me no commands; and, to say truth, my humour is to do no man service against his will. They say he is gone northward. I have had no answer to ten letters I wrote; but from the Duke of Richmond, to whom I wrote plainly, and bid him be plain with the King, and desire him to consider of some way which might lead to a treaty, rather than undo his posterity. How this pleases I know not; but, rather than not do my duty, and speak my mind freely, I will take his unjust displeasure. I know not what to do with Lord Grandison. If your brother will come, he shall have his desires.

Your most faithful friend,

Bristol, 28th July, 1645. Rupert.[1]

---

[1] From the Earl of Dartmouth's MSS.

Scarcely were these two letters written, when the following affectionate reply was sent by the King.

NEPHEW,

If I had as much time as I have matter, this should be a very long letter. But what I want, I have commanded others to supply; for I have commanded Jack Ashburnham to give you a full account, both of our proceedings and resolutions here, with all the reasons of them, as likewise Colepepper being newly come from my son. I have commanded him to acquaint you with those affairs, concerning which to deal freely with you. I find that you might do so great good there, that if it were not for the danger of the passage, and that I know not how Bristol can be yet without you, I would wish you were with my son: but, as it is, I think only fit to name it, and no more: so leaving it wholly to you. As for the oaths you have proposed to be taken, I not only approve them, but thank you for the motion; only, that clause which concerns the public meetings may be left out, because it will needlessly exasperate the clubmen: all the rest I do very much like. And now, because it is possible that it will be a long time before I see you, I earnestly desire you to have an implicit faith in my friendship and affection to you, for I assure you I hold myself interested equally to protect you as one of my children; so that you shall share largely with me, if ever it shall please God to send happy days unto

Your loving Uncle and most faithful Friend,

CHARLES R.

Cardiff, 4th Aug. 1645.

I have willingly done Barnwell's business, but desire you to excuse me from Andover.

Bristol is now besieged, or rather blockaded.

Sherborne Castle has been taken by storm. Fairfax and Cromwell were too strong for the "inexpugnable" Sir Lewis Dives; and these two generals soon afterwards [22nd August], sat down before Bristol. Meanwhile the Prince had made some forays into Gloucestershire: he had been riding to Bath with only his own pages and attendants, about twenty persons, when he was set upon by a troop of the enemy's cavalry; he drove them away with some slaughter; attended some hostile and some friendly meetings of clubmen; learned the near approach of Fairfax, and drove all the surrounding cattle into Bristol; ordered every inhabitant to lay in provisions for six months,[1] and wrote thus to Nicholas:—

PRINCE RUPERT TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

SIR,

I sent you word by Colonel Terringham, that I had received your letter by this woman, so also the unfortunate loss of Bridgewater; since which I hear no certainty of the enemy's motions. There is a ship landed at Dartmouth, laden with two hundred barrels of powder and store of arms. [The rest is in cipher, to the purport that "if Fairfax advance," the Royalists would be obliged to "leave Bath," for want "of men and victuals."] I hear little from General Goring.[2] Prince Charles is at

---

[1] The number of families was found to be 2500, which, counting five for a family, would give 12,500 as the number of inhabitants; 1500 of these were ascertained to be without the means of support, and the Prince ordered 2000 measures of corn to be sent into them from Wales.

[2] He had been defeated by Fairfax on the 10th, near Bridgewater, which was honourably surrendered by Colonel Wyndham to Parliament on the 23rd. It was this Cavalier who said he had

Pendennis Castle. It is reported that Sir John Berkeley has given five hundred to somebody. [Cipher: I know; for, to, stop; 50; 27; from coming, 66, to Exeter.] I doubt we shall shortly see the mystery of this.

Sir Richard Grenville, the only soldier in the West, is discontented.[1] [more cipher, concerning some "speculation" of the "King's" not yet brought to "projection."] Pray God this prove well. Just as I am writing, I hear that the Scotch army is past between . . . . Monmouth . . . . and Abergainy [Abergavenny]. This enclosed, is concerning the Commissioners of Excise, who are so bound up by the members at Oxford, that nothing can be issued without their consent. If they were but so far trusted as that, in such case as we are now in, when we need powder and provisions, money might be issued to such uses as shall be most necessary for His Majesty's service in the garrison. I shall be accountable that none shall be required by me, without great necessity. I pray, let me have a speedy answer, which will infinitely oblige

Your most faithful Friend,

RUPERT.

Bristol, July 27, 1645.

On the 29th we have another letter from Prince Rupert to Sir E. Nicholas.

SIR,

As I told you our resolution in my last by the woman, we are forced to quit Bath. The King intends

---

been taught by his father "to stick by the Crown if he found it hanging on a bush."

[1] He was also the most truculent and unprincipled. However, he was proposed soon after to command the foot in the army of the West, when Lord Wentworth had provoked a mutiny therein by his misconduct. Sir Richard refused to act, and was sent to prison to the Castle in Mount's Bay, till the approach of the Parliament army induced the Prince to allow him to escape to the Continent.

for a fine design; you may be sure that I have no hand in it, for I hear of this from others. This is all our news. Pray write often to us: we have received but one express from you, the rest were by messengers of my own.

I rest, your most faithful friend,
RUPERT.[1]

Bristol, July 29, 1645.

By the same post he writes thus to his trusted friend Will Legge. His suspicions of Digby were not ill-founded; within a month that deferential and smooth-spoken nobleman had almost succeeded in obtaining an accusation of high treason against the Prince.[2]

---

[1] Both these letters are taken from Evelyn, vol. v.

[2] The following letter from Lord Digby contains no matter of historical interest, but it displays so vividly the writer's false and unscrupulous nature, that I insert it in justice to Prince Rupert's antipathy towards this clever and dangerous coxcomb:—

CAPTAIN BECKMAN,

Returning hither to Oxon, I understand, with very much grief, that you are still a prisoner at Abingdon, and used with great inhumanity, and it doth very much aggravate my trouble at it that I am told Brown* endeavours to persuade you that I am the cause of your greater suffering, and that he will not please you till I have declared that he had no hand in your former escape. I cannot believe it any other but a pretence to colour his cruelty; for every man that sees that letter of mine to Brown, wherein I mentioned your name, and sees Brown continued in his command, cannot but know that his masters are very well satisfied what was the intention of the letter of mine, and that he lies under no suspicion for it. But lest I should be thought to omit anything on my part that might conduce to your liberty, I have thought fit to send you this, with permission to shew it to Brown, wherein I do declare that that letter written to him, wherein I mentioned your escape in such a way as might be conjectured that he had a hand

* General under Fairfax; formerly "a woodmonger."

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

DEAR WILL.,

We were forced back, but I believe they will not advance any further: if they do, you shall have timely notice. If 92, 352 will let me know the day he shall be at Charleton, I will bring his Majesty safe from thence. The Scots are about Monmouth. The King, as I hear, intends for Scotland with the horse, which, in my opinion, is a strange undertaking. You do well to wonder why Prince Rupert is not with the King, but when you know the Lord Digby's intentions to ruin him, you will then not find it strange. But all this shall not hinder me from doing my duty where I am, and that which shall become your friend RUPERT.[1]

Bristol, July 29, 1645.

The siege of Bristol has now set in; the Parliament forces determine upon a blockade; they have no fancy for a storm. Rupert holds a council of war; his officers don't at all like the appearance of affairs. They have not heard from the King for a long time; there is no prospect of relief for the besieged. Provisions and powder, too, run short; the posts are numerous, the lines extensive, and the

---

in it, was merely *an invention* whereby in some measure to punish his perfidy to me, and to let him and the world see that it is hard for any man to traffic in matter of treachery but somewhat will stick by them that practise it, let them think themselves never so cunning. This, I hope, will suffice to clear that point, and to assure you that I am

Your affectionate friend to serve you,
GEORGE DIGBY.

Oxford, Aug. 29, 1645.

[1] From the Earl of Dartmouth's MSS.

garrison few: above all, there is no hope of better things. There is no money; provisions can only be obtained by violence from the most loyal districts; contributions are only another word for plunder. A soldier's life is nowhere safe outside the walls of any country town. All feel that the great game has been played out and lost. Every morning brings intelligence of some town or fortress rendered; some deserted body of Cavaliers put to the sword. Nevertheless, the garrison does its duty as yet. Bedminster was first burned, then assaulted by a sally. The works are daily strengthened, the fire kept hotly up.

The particulars of this eventful siege are detailed in "Prince Rupert's Declaration;" I shall, therefore, proceed with the examination of his papers, still omitting very many. The following confidential letter from Lord Digby, "breathing out his soul to his dearest friend," is full of interest. It gives a deplorable picture of the King's affairs, but still more of the negotiation with Ireland. A "peace was obtained" with that unhappy country at the grievous price of repealing Poyning's atrocious law, and allowing "the Papists some private place for the exercise of their religion," but it is much to be hoped that the Digby interest may "haply obtain a better bargain."

My dear Lord,

It is a great comfort to us to hear, by this express, that Her Majesty preserves her health, notwithstanding that trouble of mind which our misfortunes must needs have given her; and that, instead of disparaging, her Majesty now does rather approve your diligence to procure us aid. God send that your hopes may succeed! For my part, I think there is more probability in that of Denmark for men, now the peace is concluded with the Swedes; and for money, from Rome, than any other way. The business of Ireland hath hung long in suspense, although the King hath long since given my Lord Ormond power to conclude the peace there, upon the very utmost concession that can possibly be yielded unto, without causing a revolt, not only of all his party here, but also such a one of his army, and all his Protestant subjects there, as would make it impossible for the Irish to afford us any aids; they would have so much to do within themselves against those that would not submit to peace upon such terms. The truth of it is, the Irish have proceeded hitherto as if they had no good intention, having not been content with the offers of more than their agent[1] did profess to expect, and insisted upon those demands, the granting of which they could not but see would be absolutely destructive to His Majesty: that is, the granting unto them the Protestant Churches in such parishes where the number of Catholics was greater; that is, in effect, all through Ireland. And whereas *you write that perhaps my Lord Ormond is not the fit person* to conclude that business, but that the management of it should be *remitted to the Queen;* I am much afraid, that the expectation of that in the Irish hath much retarded the hoped for issue of the business. But, God be thanked, we receive even now the certain news that the peace there is concluded, and that an express from my Lord Ormond is upon his way from Chester with all the particulars. The utmost extent of my Lord of Ormond's power to grant, was the suspension of Poyning's Act; also the passing of such bills as should be first agreed on, the repeal of the Penal Laws, and the allowing the Papists some chapels in private places, for the exercise of their religion. But you may not take notice that he had so large a power, *for happily he may* have obtained *a peace upon a better bargain.* Thus much for that business.[1]

---

[1] Was this Lord Glamorgan?

His Majesty approves very well of the course proposed by you, for such aid as may be obtained from Denmark; but, above all things, let the matter of money be laboured in, for, without some competent stock of that against the next spring, it will be impossible for us ever to have a resource again. My former letters will have acquainted you with our progress since our retreat from Wales, and the reasons of it; and I make no doubt but you will be satisfied that the King's business hath been as well conducted in that retreat from Wales, and since, as the desperateness of our condition could admit of; and that, in fine, we are likely to have gained the only thing we could hope for, which was, to preserve His Majesty's person safe, till the season of the year should secure him in any of his principal garrisons from the danger of a siege. It is true, I could have wished that the rebels had given us some leisure, either in the North or at Huntingdon, where we have done them some mischief, and gained some reputation, and not obliged us to go to Oxford yet this fortnight, but pressing us as they have done, and do, it is not to be avoided. But I hope it is not possible that they can anywise endanger Oxford before the winter relieve it. You write to me to tell you freely our condition without flattering you, or myself. You will find in my letters of late, especially by Porter, that I have not been guilty of that fault, nor shall I now; but the freedom which I shall at this time use in stating to you the greatest mystery of our misfortunes, I desire may be received by you as the breathings out of my soul into my dearest friend by way of prediction.

---

[1] A curious and faltering sort of letter from the King to Secretary Nicholas concerning this matter may be read in Evelyn's "Memoirs," 4to, vol. ii. p. 105.

It is most true, that, desperate as our condition seems, I have no apprehension, but that having got thus far in the year, we shall be safe till the next from any further great mischiefs; and that probably by helps from Denmark and Ireland, and monies from you, our quarters being well managed for the preservation and recruit of our remaining forces, we may possibly have a fresh and hopeful resource the next spring. These hopes I am confident the condition of our business itself will bear, would the humours of our own party bear them with patience. But, alas! my Lord, we must not expect it, *there is such an universal weariness of the war, despair of a possibility for the King to recover*, and so much of private interest grown from these upon everybody, that I protest to God I do not know four persons living besides myself and you that have not already given clear demonstrations that they will purchase their own, and, as they flatter themselves, the kingdom's quiet,—at any price to the King—to the Church—to the faithfulest of his party; and, to deal freely with you, I do not think it will be in the King's power to hinder himself from being forced to accept such conditions as the rebels will give him; and that the next news that you will hear, after we have been one month at Oxford, will be, that I and those few others, who may be thought by our counsels to fortify the King in firmness to his principles shall be forced or torn from him; and you will find [names blotted out] the prime instruments to impose the necessity upon the King of submitting to what they, and most of the King's party at Oxford, shall think fit. Truly, I have great confidence in the King's virtue and steadiness, and I am much improved in it by this enclosed letter which he wrote [name blotted out][1] in his great distress in Wales, upon occasion of [Rupert] declaring unto him that there was nothing left for him to do, but to seek conditions. I protest to God, I knew nothing either of the letter or of the occasion till a good while after it was sent; but having then gained a sight of it, I got leave to communicate a copy of it only to the Queen and to yourself. My dear Lord, I shall add no more at this time, but only to conjure you, first, to believe that if I have any truth or honour in me, I have not the least unfriendly thought in the world towards any mentioned or pointed at in this letter, more than purely in relation to the King's service; and in the next place, though I stand single against all the world, I shall not vary a tittle from those foundations of justice and right to the honour and interest of my gracious master and mistress, which I have professed myself built upon, and that I will in sight of the world carry to my grave the honour of a servant entirely faithful and unbiassed, and being worthy of that happy relation to you of

Your best friend and faithful servant,
DIGBY.

Ascot, Aug. 27, 1645.[2]

The next letter of moment in this correspondence is one to startle those who take an interest in the impetuous but true-hearted Prince whose life I have endeavoured to illustrate. It is from the King, too, but in a very altered tone from the last.

---

[1] Probably "Prince Rupert."

[2] This Ascot is not the scene of races, but a place of Lord Carnarvon's near Wing.

CHARLES R.

WHEREAS by several respective commissions from us and from our dearest son, the Prince of Wales, our nephew Prince Rupert hath been constituted General of all our forces within this kingdom, under our said dear son, we have thought fit and do by these presents, upon weighty considerations moving us thereunto, revoke and disannul all commissions investing our said nephew Prince Rupert with any military authority whatsoever, within our dominions; and of this, all commanders, officers, and soldiers are required to take notice.

Given at our Court at Ragland, the 14th of September, 1645.

Bristol was indeed surrendered; on the most favourable conditions it is true, and it is also true that its further defence would only have involved the slaughter of the garrison, and the destruction of the town.[1] Nevertheless, the Castle might doubtless have held out for another fortnight; and, judging the Prince by his own standard, he ought to have maintained it as long as he had life enough to answer the Roundhead summons by a loyal defiance. But even such men as Rupert have occasionally had intervals of unprofessional reflection and dispassionate thought. He had nothing on earth but his honour, and he consented to compromise that, in order to save the lives of his tried and devoted followers. It must have been a bitter sacrifice; a yet greater was remaining in the town, to share his comrades' fate, and to pass under the yoke of a capitulation. For a moment he indulged the thought of sounding once more "to Horse!" of once more heading his resistless guards, and breaking through the Roundheads' leaguering host; a deed he only had to will, in order to perform. The storm of the town, and the slaughter of the remaining garrison would have been the consequence. Rupert made the sacrifice; and that with a conviction of being misunderstood, and with the triumph of Digby, and the court minions, staring him in prospect. As to the mere military expediency of the surrender, it was insisted on by his whole Council of war, whose decision left the Prince, in fact, no option. That Council was composed of the most daring and gallant men that the war had spared. Hawley, Russell, Tillier and others who had dared death in a hundred fights. In fine, the terms of capitulation were signed on the 10th of September, and instantly such a storm of reprobation arose, that even Prince Rupert thought it necessary to publish his defence. It is only just to his memory, and to that of the Cavaliers, to let them speak for themselves; to and for this reason I have not given any account of the siege from other sources. The Prince's preface is characteristically bold, terse, and soldier-like; not without eloquence and even elegance; chivalrous in its appeal to the highest motives and the noblest natures.

---

[1] Sir Edward Walker, an enemy of Rupert's, admits that the "relief" that the King spoke of was quite theoretical; see his "Historical Discourses," p. 129.

"A Declaration of His Highness Prince Rupert with a Narrative of the State and Condition of the City and Garrison of Bristol, when his Highness Prince Rupert came thither: of the actions there during the siege, of the treaties, and rendition thereof."

"A Declaration of His Highness Prince Rupert.

"Not that his Highness thinks to justify himself to those who by that must condemn themselves, nor that he believes any thing he hath done needs a declaration, does he publish this to the world: but he thought it might not be unnecessary to the service of his Majesty, (in order to which all his actions have been directed,) to let the world see that he hath faithfully served him, and that his enemies had no other reason for accusation than that they found it necessary for their defence. His Highness is not ignorant how great a difficulty he hath undertaken in satisfying the people, who are as severe in the actions of others as they are partial in their own, and who censure all by success; which judgment, how unjust it is, the meanest understandings, even those brought against him, must confess. Yet with these disadvantages must he now appear; and he is confident that through them all he shall let the misinformed kingdom see that his honour is as much above the malice of his enemies as their competition. His Highness will not go back to the beginning of these times, nor particularly mention his actions in this war, although he believes he may without vanity say, that neither integrity nor industry hath been wanting in any of them; nor that there hath scarce been any service where he hath not appeared in his person and his care; which how successful it hath been in several occasions the kingdom will be his witness, and where the event hath been contrary, his Majesty and the armies will acquit him of his part in it. And he esteems it his happiness to have served the King in difficult times, where he hath appeared with him in good and ill fortune, assisted by the gallantry of those gentlemen who neither in danger nor disfavour have forsaken him, of whose affections he shall ever make a just and proportioned acknowledgment. But since, as it is the fate of those in the condition of his Highness, he hath had his actions imperfectly, if not maliciously related, examined at a distance, and accordingly censured: since he is become the subject of every one's passion, how unjust soever, and of every opinion, although never so weak; his Highness thought it was a right he owed the King's service and himself, whom he will ever consider last, to publish in the following narrative the integrity and reasons of his proceedings; that it might appear, that as his Highness hath faithfully served the King, he hath not served him unadvisedly, but like a soldier as well as a man of honour. And all the world, even his enemies shall see, that his actions, to say no more, have been as far from injuring his Majesty's cause, as theirs from defending it."

A Narrative of the State and Condition of the City and Garrison of Bristol, when His Highness Prince Rupert came thither; of the actions there during the Siege; of the Treaties and Rendition thereof.

His Majesty, after the Battle of Naseby, retreating towards Hereford, intending to recruit his army by new levies in those parts. His Highness, Prince Rupert, crossed the Severne-sea, to visit His Highness the Prince of Wales, and, by his personal presence, to inform him more fully of the condition of His Majesty's forces in the Western parts. In his return, he passed through the Lord Goring's army, thereby to settle and order things so there as might most advantage His Majesty's future service. And, immediately after, His Highness intending to provide for a train of artillery, and other necessaries for His Majesty's army, repaired to Bristol, where the then present constitution of the garrison had, by the establishment contribution settled for three thousand six hundred men, for that and the subordinate garrisons, as Nuney, Portland Point, etc. But at his coming thither, the presidiary soldiers, which went by reputation for eight hundred or nine hundred men (and, for some reasons unknown to his Highness, it was not thought fit or convenient by them who took upon them the power to have them called to a muster), were really in the judgment of honest and judicious persons, whose safeties were concerned in it, betwixt five hundred or six hundred effective. The auxiliary and train-bands, by interruption of trade and commerce, by the pestilence then raging there, by their poverty and pressures laid upon them, were reduced to eight hundred; and the mariners, for want of employment, betook themselves to other ports, or to the enemy.

The Commissioners entrusted for the contribution and support of the garrison, upon the enemy's approach, abandoned the town, and many considerable persons had liberty given them and quitted the town, which much weakened and disheartened the rest.

For the securing of that place, His Highness drew in so many, that made the garrison two thousand three hundred men upon sight. But after the enemy approached, His Highness could never draw upon the line above one thousand five hundred, and it was impossible for His Highness to keep them from getting over the works: and many of those were new-levied Welsh, and unexperienced men.

The line, which was to be defended, was above four miles in compass, the breast-work low and thin, the graff very narrow, and of no depth; and, by the opinion of all the Colonels, whose judgments and votes were required upon all important occasions, not tenable upon a brisk or vigorous assault.

The great fort, which had the reputation of strength, lay open to Brandon-hill Fort, which, being taken, would, from its height with the cannon, command the whole plain within it; and that, wanting water, was not to be kept many days. For the like consideration of danger to the line from another part, His Highness built a redoubt without, which on that side prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, as likewise three others during the siege, and drew a line of five hundred feet.

After the misfortune which happened to the Lord Goring's army, the loss of Bridgewater and Sherborne, and upon His Majesty's sudden recess out of Wales, His Highness, not having received any command or intimation to follow him, he thought it might be more conducible to His Majesty's affairs for him to remain there: and, conceiving that the enemy's design, after their former successes, might be for Bristol, gave express orders for all inhabitants to victual themselves for six months. And, upon a strict survey, there were two thousand five hundred families then remaining in the City, whereof one thousand five hundred, through indigence and want, could not provide for themselves. To supply this defect, His Highness caused two thousand bushels of corn to be imported out of Wales. For further supply, His Highness, upon the certain approach of the enemy's whole army, commanded out parties to drive in all the cattle thereabouts, of which there was an indifferent number.

The ammunition was scant, considering that in the forts, castle, line, and streets, there being above one hundred cannon mounted, the quantity of powder not exceeding one hundred and thirty barrels. And, at His Highness's first coming thither, there was not in the public magazine musket-balls for three hours' fight; wherefore he caused immediately great quantities of lead to be cast into bullets, and the manufacture of match was quite down, and set up by His Highness during the siege.

His Highness having made all possible preparations, consulted with us all, the Colonels of posts, for our opinion concerning the tenableness of the line. Our judgment generally was, that, notwithstanding the works and line were very defective, the circuit large, our numbers few, yet if we could repel one general storm, the enemy would be discouraged from attempting the second time; and the season of the year might advantage us, and incommode them.

Upon this uncertainty His Highness made offer, that, for his own person, he would attempt to break through with his Horse, with such officers as could be spared, leaving such as were requisite for the fort and castle.

This, by all us the Colonels of posts and Officers, was thought neither safe nor honourable. In the second place, he offered to put himself upon the defence of the castle and fort. All the Officers were clear of opinion against this; that, in regard of the nobility and gentry, and such of the town as had appeared well-affected, and the horse and foot which the fort and castle could not receive, had been thereby left to the sword of the enemy; and in regard the fort and castle, in our opinions, were not tenable against their army.

In the third place, seeing that neither of the former ways could be taken, we were all resolved to fall upon the best general defence that could be made of the whole, wherein we might all share alike. These were the resolutions of all we Colonels and Officers of the posts, castle, and fort, His Highness leaving the free debate unto us (himself not being by) upon our own desires.

(Signed) John Russell, Somerset Fox,
Will. Murray, Henry Osburne,
Henry Tillier, Matthew Appleyard.

These were the results, at a Council of War, only I do not remember that the weakness of the castle and fort was at that instant, while I was present, taken into consideration.

(Signed) F. Hawley.

The state and condition of the line of fortifications about the city of Bristol, as likewise of the great fort, as appears by the subscriptions of the engineers, who had taken an exact survey of them, were as follows.

The line, generally, was three feet thick.

The height of it, five feet, where it was highest.

The graff commonly six feet broad, and, where it was widest, but seven.

The depth, in most parts, four feet, and five where deepest.

Between Prior-hill Fort, Stokes Croft-gate, and beyond the little river, towards Lafford's-gate, in which places the enemy entered, not five feet high.

The graff five feet broad, and all that part of the line much decayed.

The ditch of the great fort, on the right hand, the gate before the face of the bulwark, was not four feet deep, and eighteen feet broad, so that horses did go up and down into it.

The highest work of the fort was not twelve feet high, and the curtains but ten.

Within one hundred feet of the fort, there was a deep hollow way, where the enemy might lodge what numbers he pleased, and might be in the graff the first night, and in that part the fort was minable.

Brandon-hill fort was about twelve feet above the level of the great fort; and that being not able to make any long resistance, the enemy gaining it, would command the other.

The hedges and ditches, without the line, were neither cut nor levelled, so that they lodged their men securely near our works, at their first approach.

We do here, under our hands, attest the particulars above-written to be true,

B. de Gomme, Engineer-General.
John Mansfield, Engineer.

The resolution being then taken for a general defence, his Highness disposed all the colonels to their several posts and forts upon the line. His Highness being thus solicitous for the securing of the place. The enemy, upon the twenty-second of August, appeared before the town, upon Pine-hill, to the south side. To encounter them, his Highness sent a party of horse, commanded by Sir Richard Crane, who, in that action, received his death-wound; a little before that, Bedminster was fired, upon intelligence the enemy intended that night to quarter two thousand men in it; and, notwithstanding the fire, the enemy drew thither, and plied their small shot all night.

August 23: His Highness caused a traverse, or blind of earth, to be made within the drawbridge, without Temple-gate; and, the same day, a battery was raised in the marsh, for securing the river, and scouring the fields beyond it. The enemy began some breastwork, and a battery, on the hill without Temple-gate, with a traverse cross the way, to hinder our sallies.

In this time, the enemy omitted no opportunity to solicit the minds of the inhabitants, trained bands, and auxiliaries; and, to that purpose, sent secretly in these lines following, signed and sealed by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell; as likewise, further instructions to the citizens of Bristol, for the delivery of Bristol to the Parliament.

"We do hereby promise and engage ourselves, that all such citizens of Bristol, now inhabiting within the said city, which shall from henceforth forbear to resist the army under our command, in the attempting to enter the said city, and the lines of defence, and forts made about it; and shall appear to do their best endeavour for the delivering in of the same into our hands, for the use of the Parliament, shall, in case the said city be delivered into our hands, be secured and protected by the authority of the Parliament, in the enjoyment of their lives, liberties, and estates, as freely as in former times, and as any other persons under the obedience of the Parliament, notwithstanding any past acts of hostility, or any other thing by them done, in the former delivering up of the said city to the enemy, or maintaining of it against the Parliament, or otherwise, in assistance of the enemy. For assurance, and in testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals, this twenty-fifth of August, 1645. Subscribed and sealed by

"THOMAS FAIRFAX.
"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Upon the interception of which paper, his Highness caused several suspected and active persons to be restrained, which prevented the design, and, withal, by his personal presence, secured the great fort from surprisal.

In the meantime, his Highness, to interrupt the enemy's working, made several sallies, all which succeeded according to design.

August 26: Soon after, a storm being expected by the enemy's drawing great bodies of horse and foot, his Highness double-manned the line, but nothing followed.

August 28: Five Parliament's ships entered Kingsroad, and forced Captain Boone, who commanded the Tenth Whelp [a ship of war] to run up the Severn for security.

August 29: The enemy was making a bridge over Avon, to conjoin their quarters.

September 3: His Highness began a work, or cutting-off, within the line, by Lafford's-gate.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX'S SUMMONS.

SIR,

For the service of the Parliament I have brought this army, before the City of Bristol, and do summon you in their names to surrender it, with all the forts belonging to the same into my hands to their use. Having used this plain language, as the business requires, I wish it may be as effectual with you as it is satisfactory to myself that I do a little expostulate with you about the surrender of the same, which I confess is a way not common, and which I should not have used, but in respect to such a person, and to such a place. I take into consideration your Royal birth, and relation to the Crown of England, your honour, courage, and the virtue of your person, and the strength of that place which you may think yourself bound and able to maintain.

Sir, the Crown of England is and will be where it ought to be, we fight to maintain it there; but the King, misled by evil counsellors or through a seduced heart, hath left his Parliament and his people, under God the best assurance of his crown and family. The maintenance of this schism is the ground of this unhappy war on your part, and what sad effects it hath produced in the three kingdoms is visible to all men. To maintain the rights of the Crown of England jointly, a principal part whereof is that the King in supreme acts concerning the whole State is not to be advised by men of whom the law takes no notice, but by his Parliament—the great Council of the kingdom; in whom, as much as man is capable of, he hears all his people, as it were at once, advising him, and in which multitude of counsellors lies his safety, and his people's interest; and to set him right in this, has been the constant and faithful endeavour of the Parliament; and to bring those wicked instruments to justice that have misled him, is a principal ground of our fighting.

Sir, if God makes this clear to you as he has to us, I doubt not but he will give you a heart to deliver this place, notwithstanding all the other considerations of honour, courage, fidelity, &c., because their consistency and use in the present business depend upon the right and wrongfulness of this that has been said. And if, upon such conviction you should surrender it, and save the loss of blood or hazard of spoiling such a city, it would be an occasion glorious in itself and joyful to us, for the restoring of you to the endeared affection of the Parliament and people of England—the truest friends to your family it hath in the world.

But if this be hid from your eyes, and that through your wilfulness, this so great, so famous, and ancient a city, and so full of people, be, by your putting us to force the same, exposed to ruin and the extremity of war, which yet we shall in that case as much as possible endeavour to prevent, then I appeal to the righteous God to be judge between you and us, and to requite the wrong.

And let all England judge whether the burning of its towns, ruining its cities, and destroying its people be a good requital from a person of your family; which hath had the prayers, tears, purses, and blood of its Parliament and people; and, if you look on either as now divided, which hath ever had that same party both in Parliaments and amongst the people most zealous for their assistance and restitution, which you now oppose and seek to destroy, and whose constant grief has been that their desires to serve your family have been ever hindered or made fruitless by that same party about his Majesty, whose counsels you act, and whose interests you pursue in this unnatural war.

I expect your speedy answer to the summons with the return of the bearer this evening, and remain

Your Highness's humble servant,

Sept. 4, 1645. THOMAS FAIRFAX.

His Highness's reply was only to know whether he would give leave for a messenger to go to his Majesty to know his pleasure, which occasioned Sir Thomas Fairfax to return this answer.

SIR,

The overture of sending to the King to know his pleasure I cannot give way to, because of delay; I confess your answer doth intimate your intention not to surrender without his Majesty's consent. Yet because it is but implicit, I shall send again to know a more positive answer from yourself, which I desire may be such as may render me capable to approve myself,

Your Highness's humble servant,
Sept. 5, 1645. THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Whereupon his Highness sent him these following propositions; for during a treaty we might strengthen our works within, hear from the King, and, had he assented unto our demands, we should have required a confirmation of them by the Parliament, which protraction of time would have been our advantage.

At the Council of War, present:

Prince Rupert, Lord Hawley, Lord Lumley, Colonel John Russell, Sir Matthew Appleyard, Colonel Tillier, Colonel Fox, Colonel Robert Slingsby, Colonel Walter Slingsby, Colonel Murray, Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne.

[This Council of War proposed terms of their own, accordingly, and a lengthy correspondence follows between Fairfax and Rupert. At length the patience of the former is exhausted.]

Upon the tenth of September the enemy stormed the line generally, about two in the morning, and his Highness having received intelligence a little before of it, all were in a readiness to receive them, they entered the line where the townsmen and new Welsh were, as at Stokescroft gate, where the Officer-in-Chief, who was Major of the town, was slain in the place, and at Lafford's gate, where many of the officers and soldiers were taken and killed, and at the same time they stormed Prior-hill fort, and took it, which was the loss of the whole line, they being beaten off in the other parts of the town, then the day breaking we found them in full possession of the line and fort, which caused our horse and foot to retreat to the great fort, who were presently commanded into the city to make that good, leaving the other works sufficiently manned, as Golfon's-fort, Brandon-hill, and the new redoubt without the line. Finding ourselves in this condition, and considering the engagement of those within the city and castle, and that the Lord Hawley, Sir Matthew Appleyard, and Colonel Slingsby, with their men, were in danger to be cut off, the enemy being between us and them, his Highness was moved by the officers to entertain a treaty in time, before those were lost, his Highness condescending thereunto, sent a trumpet to Sir Thomas Fairfax to know whether he would treat or not, who accepting it, commissioners were nominated on our part, Sir William Vavasour, Sir John Mennes, and Colonel Henry Tillier. The first thing proposed was a cessation of arms, and in the meantime every one to keep his post. They first proposed his Highness's former proposition, but our condition being then altered, and they sensible of their own success, would not admit them, but would treat upon new propositions, which after long debate were offered as below.[1]

---

[1] Articles of agreement between the Commissioners appointed on behalf of his Highness Prince Rupert and his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax for the surrender of the City of Bristol. September 10, 1645.

1. That his Highness Prince Rupert, and all noblemen, commanders, officers, gentlemen, and soldiers, and all other persons whatsoever now residing in the City of Bristol and the castle and forts thereof, shall march out of the said city, castle, and forts thereof, with colours, pikes, and drums, bag and baggage; the Prince's Highness, all noblemen, gentlemen, officers in commission, with their horses and arms, and their servants with their horses and swords, and common soldiers with their swords, the Prince's lifeguard of horse with their horses and arms, and two hundred and fifty horse besides to be disposed of by the Prince, and his lifeguard of firelocks with their arms, and each one of them one

But in that particular point of laying down our fire-arms, there could be no conclusion made without his Highness's pleasure first being known, who thereupon called all the commanders to deliver their opinions therein; and, upon full debate, they concluded as by their subscriptions appears, that if better conditions could not be obtained, then to accept of these:—

"It is our general opinion that if better conditions cannot

---

pound of powder and a proportion of bullet, and that none of the persons who are to march out upon this article shall be plundered, searched, or molested.

2. That such officers and soldiers as shall be sick or wounded in the city, castle, and forts, shall have liberty to stay until their recovery, and then have safe conduct to go to his Majesty, and in the interim be protected.

3. That the persons above-mentioned who are to march away shall have a sufficient convoy provided for them, for their security, to any such garrison of the King's as the Prince shall name, not exceeding fifty miles from Bristol, and shall have eight days allowed for their march thither, and shall have free quarter by the way, and shall have two officers appointed to attend them for their accommodation, and twenty waggons for their baggage if they have occasion to use the same.

4. That all the citizens of Bristol, and all noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and all other persons residing in the said city and suburbs of the same, shall be saved from all plunder and violence, and be secured in their persons and estates from the violence of the soldier, and shall enjoy those rights and liberties which other subjects enjoy under the protection and obedience of the Parliament.

5. That in consideration hereof, the City of Bristol, with the castle and all the forts and fortifications thereof, without any slighting and defacing thereof, and all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and all other furniture and provisions of war, excepting what is before allowed, shall be delivered up to Sir Thomas Fairfax on Thursday, the eleventh of this month, by three o'clock in the afternoon, without any diminution or embezzlement, his Highness Prince Rupert then naming to what army or garrison of the King's he will march.

6. That none of the persons who are to march out on this

be granted, we assent to the leaving of the fire-arms of the private soldiers.

"Rupert, Horatio Carey, John Steward, Edward Manwaring, Thomas Leigh, William Powell, John Russell, William Munday, Thomas Daniell, Mer Touchet, B. de Gomme, Ed. Hutchinson, Theo. Kirton, William Pretty, Thomas Coningsby, Francis Radcliffe, H. Ventris, W. Symonds, Richard Price."

And thereupon there was a full conclusion of the treaty. The next day, upon some insolencies of the soldiers, his Highness sent to Sir Thomas Fairfax that the articles were violated, and that if there was not a present redress, he would stand upon his own defence, and rather die than suffer those injuries, and thereupon

---

agreement shall plunder, hurt, or spoil the town or any person in it, or carry out anything but what is properly their own.

7. That upon signing these articles, Colonel Okey and all persons now in prison in the City of Bristol, the castle, or forts of the same shall immediately be set at liberty.

8. That sufficient hostages, such as he shall approve, be given to Sir Thomas Fairfax this night, who are to remain with him until the city be delivered unto him.

9. That neither the convoy nor officers sent with the Prince shall receive any injury in their going or coming back, and shall have seven days allowed for their return.

10. That upon delivery of the town sufficient hostages be given for performance of the articles on both parts.

Signed by us, the Commissioners appointed on the behalf of his Highness Prince Rupert,

William Vavasour.
John Mennes.
Henry Tillier.

Signed by us, the Commissioners appointed on the behalf of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax,

E. Montague.
Thomas Rainsborow.
I. Pickering.

for his Highness's satisfaction, we had liberty to march with our arms unto our quarters.

For some days before the approach of the enemy, and during the whole siege, his Highness received not any letter from his Majesty nor from the Prince of Wales, nor from any general, or minister of state, until his coming to Cirencester; only the Governor of Hereford signified the rising of the Scots, and their marching towards Gloucester, and a desire to have some ammunition from him; notwithstanding his Highness made several despatches by all the convenient means he could.

The well in the great fort was not half finished, the water scant and troubled, and far insufficient for the use of the numbers that were there.

It may be objected, that notwithstanding the enemy's power and force, and their entering the line, yet the castle and great fort might have held out so long that probably relief might have come; and that therefore there was not any pressing necessity to precipitate the rendition of those places.

To which this is replied, that any timely relief was utterly improbable, considering that during the whole siege his Highness never received any intelligence from his Majesty, nor from the West; and though his Highness well knew in what condition his Majesty's army was, yet if his Majesty could have drawn together all the power he expected, the enemy could have blocked up the castle and fort, and have advanced twelve thousand men to have fought a battle, or else have secured themselves within the line against all opposition; besides, they were so absolutely masters of all the passes, and had so barricaded up the ways, that a small force might have hindered a great army. And at that time General Poyntz so closely observed his Majesty's motions, that relief was as improbable to be expected as easy to be desired. And his Highness could not promise himself any more likelihood of succours from the West; Bridgewater, Sherborne, and other interjacent garrisons being already reduced by the enemy, and Colonel Massey lying with a considerable body of horse and foot in places of advantage, ready to intercept and stop the Lord Goring. Moreover, had there been any probability of relief in any reasonable time, yet the line being forced, Prior Hill Fort, an important place, lost—the officer to whose trust it was committed deserting it, who never since that time appeared—the city had thereby been exposed to the spoil and fury of the enemy, so many gallant men who had so long and faithfully served his Majesty, whose safeties his Highness conceived himself in honour obliged to preserve as dearly as his own, had been left to the slaughter and rage of a prevailing enemy.

Nevertheless, although these reasons were of that validity, that his Highness could not but despair of relief, yet another important consideration was, in itself, singly sufficient to exclude all credence of possibility; which was, that the Scots, upon removal from Hereford, marched to Gloucester, where their whole body was, the eighth of September; an intermediate place, near which his Majesty must have marched; and can any rational man imagine them so stupidly inactive, as to suffer his Majesty to pass so near them without opposition, considering what effective forces they had, and their commanders neither ignorant or idle to entertain opportunities for action.

The remainder of this story may be told in the following extracts from a Parliamentary Journal, and from one of those nondescript "letters of news" that abounded at that time, and still abound, mouldering in the British Museum.

Yesterday, according to the articles, Prince Rupert marched out in this manner, having first drawn all his foot into the Royal Fort and Castle, his horse standing on the green, under the fort, within the line, those waggons appointed for him being laden with his baggage, in all not above eight. He drew out part of his foot and horse before his waggons, and part following, himself next, with his Life Guard of fire-locks came forth, all in red coats before him, and his Life Guard of horse following, accompanied with some Lords, viz., Cromwell, Grandison, &c., Colonel Hammond's regiment of foot standing at the port to receive the keys of the fort, and march in. Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Colonel Montague, Colonel Ranisborough, and some other officers, waited at the port of the fort for his coming out, and waited upon him to the General, who stood with the convoy of horse without the line, and accompanied him over Durdham Downs, being two miles. The Prince was clad in scarlet, very richly laid in silver lace, mounted upon a very gallant black Barbary horse; the General and the Prince rode together, the General giving the Prince the right hand all the way; the number of the Prince's foot was about two thousand. The horse, with the assigned number of two hundred and fifty, and the Life Guard, altogether made about four hundred; and I think there might be, of noblemen and gentlemen, at the least, three hundred more. The Prince, upon the Green, then named the place to which he would march, which was to Oxford, and quartered at Westbury the last night. Colonel Baker, with his regiment, and Major Hemington, with the Lord-General's regiment, waited on him as convoy. The General, upon his return, received the Royal fort, which is one of the finest citadels in England; in it twenty-four pieces mounted on five bastions, powder in quantity, victuals in abundance, of all sorts, eighty or a hundred tons of beer, bread sufficient to serve almost 100,000 men a day; upon the line, castle and forts, might be in all about two hundred pieces of ordnance mounted, two or three hundred barrels of powder, two great magazines of arms, some say, three or four thousand, the city itself being the next to London in the kingdom; all this success is the Lord's doing, which ought to be marvellous in our eyes.[1]

We had the happy news of the taking and surrender of Bristol,—we say thus, for *part* was taken by assault.

Prince Rupert, either from his strength within, or to gain time to raise the siege by relief from abroad, stood upon extreme high terms. Sir Thomas would not endure this, and gave orders for a general assault on the east and west sides. All the lines from the Royal fort down, and the suburbs were taken, with Prior's fort, in which only two Royalist were left alive! Then Prince Rupert surrendered, to save blood, upon high terms . . . . But is Bristol taken, and in less than three weeks? fortified four times as well as when Colonel Fiennes was in it, and more men, and the cream of the Royal army. Poor Prince Rupert! "the sentence of death must surely pass on you!" Why not retreat to the castle; the King on one side and Goring on the other, within sixty miles of you! . . . . Endymion Porter had better carry this news to the Queen, for the slower the better. "But, why did Sir Thomas give such good conditions?" Prince Rupert might have escaped with five hundred horse, hazard of weather, sickness, firing the city, and the Royal fort being made good against us. . . . . Goring still about Exeter, more inclined to drink and plunder than to relieve Bristol. On the 1st of September, 1645, Rupert marched for Oxford, with a thousand foot, five hundred horse, one hundred nobles and gentlemen. . . . Fearing the clubmen, he asked for muskets, promising to deliver them up to the convoy at parting, which every one believes he will perform. All fair respects between him and Sir T. Fairfax; much respect from the Lord-General Cromwell. He gave this gallant compliment to Major Harrison, "That he never received such satisfaction in such unhappiness, and that if ever in his power he will recompense it."[1] . . . .

---

[1] Printed at London, Sept. 10, 1645. King's Col. Pamph. 226, No. 3.

Then follows some news, and articles of impeachment against Rupert for high treason![2]—

September 22, 1645.—The King is still about Worcester, endeavouring to come, with all speed, to Oxford, which he doth the rather desire to hasten; 1. Because of taking an account of Rupert, about Bristol; and, 2, because his brother Maurice is very sick, at Worcester, of the plague—some say he is dead; and the Malignants are very sorrowful at the news. But, for certain, Rupert hath a guard of musketeers before his chamber. Colonel Legge, the Governor of Oxford, is displaced, and Colonel Glenham is made Governor in his stead, at least for the present. The Lord Digby hath drawn up articles of high treason against Rupert, and swears he shall have his head, or it shall cost him a fall. The substance of the articles of high treason against Rupert:—

1. That he hath, several times, traitorously undermined

---

[1] Moderate Intelligencer, Friday, Sept. 12, 1645.

[2] All sorts of calumnies of course were rife: those who take an interest in political gossip may consult M. de Sabran's voluminous and amusing correspondence with M. de Brienne, reporting the ephemeral falsehoods of the day as *pabulum* for diplomatic digestion. His French Excellency's letters are to be found among the "additional MSS." in the British Museum. One of them of this date mentions that the Parliament presented Rupert with eight thousand gold Jacobuses for the surrender of Bristol. He cautiously adds, when late enough not to spoil his story, that "*perhaps* it was his *brother*, the Elector Palatine, who received this sum."

the designs of the King and his Council, to the hazard of his Majesty's person, and loss of his army.

2. That he hath, several times, betrayed his Majesty's forces to the enemy (meaning the Parliament), by engaging them wilfully, to their destruction.

3. That he hath traitorously delivered the fort and castle of Bristol to Sir Thomas Fairfax.

4. That he himself declared, that he did worse in losing Bristol, than Colonel Fiennes did, in delivering it up to the King.

5. That he made promise to the enemy, to seduce his Majesty to come into the Parliament; promising never to fight more for the King against the Parliament,[1] &c.

The King felt the loss of Bristol very heavily; he was wounded, not only in what he conceived to be his most vital interest, but in his confidence in his nephew's devotedness. "Tell my son," he writes to Nicholas, in speaking of the Duke of York, "Tell my son, that I shall less grieve to hear that he is knocked on the head, than that he should do so mean an action as the rendering of Bristol Castle and Fort upon the terms it was."[2] Such feelings as these were aggravated by the loss of Devizes, Winchester, Basing-House, Berkeley Castle, and Chepstow; they all fell as if struck by the same blow. It is scarcely to be wondered at that Charles should then have listened to the triumphant Digby's eloquent denunciation against his fearless but unhappy nephew; it was in such a mode that he consented to dismiss Rupert, without a hearing, from the kingdom, and wrote the following letter, with the accompanying passport:—

---

[1] Perfect Passages of Proceedings in Parliament.

[2] Evelyn (8vo.) v. 149.

NEPHEW,

Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is of so much affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me. For what is to be done after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action? (I give it the easiest term) such . . . . . . I have so much to say that I shall say no more of it: only, lest rashness of judgment be laid to my charge, I must remember you of your letter of the twelfth of August, whereby you assured me that if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there anything like a mutiny? More questions might be asked, but now, I confess, to little purpose. My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence until it shall please God to determine of my condition, somewhere beyond seas: to which end I send you herewith a pass; and I pray God to make you sensible of your present condition, and give you means to recover what you have lost; for I shall have no greater joy in a victory, than a just occasion without blushing to assure you of my being

Your loving uncle and most faithful friend,
C. R.[1]

Hereford, 14th Sept. 1645.

This letter must have been a bitter draught to the proud young Palatine; there is something very pathetic and eloquent in it too. The full meaning it contains was only developed in the following revocation of all the unhappy Prince's commands; and the passport that told him he was to "seek his subsistence" wheresoever he could find it.

---

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, v. 252–3.

PASSPORT TO PRINCE RUPERT TO LEAVE THE KINGDOM.

CHARLES R.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all admirals, vice-admirals, governors, and captains, of ports, ships, and forts; mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, customers, comptrollers, searchers, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, and all other our officers, ministers, and loving subjects whom it may concern, greeting.

Whereas we have granted our licence unto our nephew, Prince Rupert, to pass from these dominions into the part beyond the sea. These are therefore, to will and command every of you, not only to permit him, with all his servants, horses, and all his necessaries to pass by you and embark at any of the ports within our dominions, and thence to transport himself accordingly, but likewise to afford him all assistance and fitting accommodation in his said journey, whereof you are not to fail; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at . . . .

By his Majesty's command,
GEORGE DIGBY.

To this letter, and for this passport signed by his mortal enemy, the Prince sent the following manly and temperate, though not very well expressed, reply :—

TO THE KING.

SIRE,

I have received both your letters of the same tenor, from Ragland, September 14th, with the other intimations of your pleasure of the same date, which, as far as my power can make them, are already obeyed: my not having any command, or meddling in your service, rendering it very easy for me to comply with your will to have it so; for no other motive or consideration first or last made me an actor but to do you service, and that as you desired. How I have behaved myself, from the beginning until the misfortune of your commands engaged me in Bristol, from inferior persons I shall not desire greater justification or applause than that which I have received from your Majesty, therefore I pass all former times without mention, and come to this; of which I only say, that if your Majesty had vouchsafed me so much patience as to hear me inform you before you had made a final judgment—I will presume to present this much—that you would not have censured me as it seems you do: and that I should have given you as just satisfaction as in any former occasion, though not so happy. But since there is so great appearance that I must suffer that it is already decreed; what otherwise I should have desired to have given your Majesty an account, now I am obliged to seek for my own clearing: that, what you will have me bear, may be with as much honour to me as belongs to integrity. If your Majesty will admit me to that opportunity, I desire to wait on you to that end as soon as I can, when I know I have your leave for it, which I humbly desire to have. If I must be so unfortunate not to be allowed (if, since the first duty that I owe, which is to your Majesty, is not suffered me, to perform wherein else I should rest) in the next place I owe myself that justice as to publish to the world what I think will clear my erring, in all this business now in question, from any foul deed or neglect, and vindicate me from your desert of any prevailing malice, though I suffer it. Your commands that I should dispose of myself somewhere beyond seas, be pleased to consider of, whether it be in my power (though you have sent me a pass), as times now are, to go by it. Wherever I am, or how unhappy soever, and by your will made so, yet I shall ever retain that duty to your Majesty which I have ever, as

Your Majesty's most humble, and most obedient
Nephew, and faithful humble servant,
RUPERT.

September, 1645.

Calmer thoughts soon allowed the memory of his nephew's former services, to refute present accusations against him; the King was ever faithful in his affections, however incompatible fidelity may seem to be with want of truthfulness. I have hitherto reluctantly admitted many hard accusations from others, and from his own letters, against this most unhappy King: henceforth I find nothing to reproach his memory with, except that fatal infirmity of purpose which only his memorable trial and his heroic death redeemed.

The following letter to Prince Maurice expresses the bitterness of the writer's feelings, but it is the bitterness of sorrow rather than of anger. Maurice was still lying on his bed of sickness at Worcester when he received this severe yet generous judgment of his well-loved brother:—

NEPHEW,

What through want of time, or unwillingness to speak to you of so unpleasing a subject, I have not yet, which I must now supply, spoken to you freely of your brother Rupert's present condition. The truth is, that his unhandsome quitting the castle and fort of Bristol, hath enforced us to put him off those commands which he had in my armies, and have sent him a pass to go beyond seas. Now, though I could do no less than this, for which, believe me, I have too much reason, upon strict examination, yet I assure you that I am most confident that this great error of his, which, indeed, hath given me more grief than any misfortune since this damnable rebellion, hath noways proceeded from his change of affection to me or my cause; but merely by having his judgment seduced by some rotten-hearted villains making fair pretensions to him. And I am resolved so little to forget his former services, that, whensoever it shall please God to enable me to look upon my friends like a King, he shall thank God for the pains he hath spent in my armies. So much for him. Now for yourself. I know you to be so free from his present misfortune, that it noways staggers [me] in that good opinion I have ever had of you; and so long as you be not weary of your employments under me, I will give you all the encouragement and contentment in my power. However, you shall always find me

Your loving Uncle, and most assured Friend,

CHARLES R.[1]

Newtown, Sept. 20, 1645.

But Prince Maurice warmly espoused his brother's part, and prepared to follow him in all his fortunes. He did so to the death. Rupert's error, if such it were, had been severely visited. Immediate orders were sent to Nicholas to imprison Will. Legge, merely as being the Prince's friend; commands were sent at the same time, to place Rupert himself in arrest, "if necessary."[1] The same Royal messenger who announced to the Prince his deprivation of all command in the King's service, had also been the bearer of the order to leave the kingdom forthwith, and furnished him with the passport already quoted. The disgraced young Prince only saw in all this the hand of Digby: his "ruin" seemed at length effected; and if he would only leave the kingdom, Digby would enjoy in peace the fruit of his intrigue. But the fiery Rupert, who never feared the face of mortal man, had determined to see the King; and to claim from him, at least, the privilege of being heard—the right of the meanest soldier. And surely, nothing but Digby's intemperance could have obtained an order for the bravest of the brave to be expelled from the kingdom without a hearing, his honour blasted for ever amongst his enemies. In this, at least, Rupert cannot be blamed, that he sought to justify himself, and refused to leave the King he had served so well, without an interview.

---

[1] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 116 (in King's Collection); Ellis's Original Letters, iii. 317.

---

[1] Evelyn, v. 148. It is to be observed that Digby insinuated, and asserted to the Queen, that Rupert had been bribed by the Parliament. The following assertion, which I have not met with elsewhere, might seem an additional cause to the King for his suspicions. M. de Sabran also writes that "Prince Maurice having surrendered Shrewsbury about the same time caused suspicion."

"Après que Bristol fût rendu par le Prince Robert, il écrivit au Roi qu'il ne fallait plus s'arrêter au point d'honneur et de conscience, qui l'avaient empêché jusques là, de s'accorder avec le Parlement, qu'il fallait céder à la necessité et se rendre à la destinée. Le Roi trouva cette liberté d'un si mauvais exemple qu'il ôta à Legge, ami du Prince, le gouvernement d'Oxford, et le confia à Glenham. Car Charles, malgré ses nouveaux disgraces, ne s'était point abattu."—*Revolutions d'Ang. par le père d'Orleans,* tom. iii. p. 125.

The King was at Ragland when he heard of the loss of Bristol. His wanderings about the central counties, and his fugitive career afterwards may be best recalled to the reader's mind by a few lines from the "Carolinum."[1]

On the 18th of October, the King had written to Secretary Nicholas from Newark, in answer, I pre-

---

[1] September, 1645.

	Nights	Miles
Sunday, the 7th, to Ragland Castle, supper, 17 : Monday, the 8th, to Abergain, dinner ; Ragland, supper, 14 : Thursday, the 11th, to Ragland, supper ; Abergavenny, dinner, 14	7	45
Sunday, the 14th, to Monmouth, dinner, the governor's ; to Hereford, supper : Monday, the 15th, we marched half-way to Bromyard, but there was *Leo in itinere*, and so back to Hereford again	3	10
Wednesday, the 17th, the rendezvous was at Athurstone, there dined ; ten miles, to Hamlacy, supper, Lord Scudamore's	1	26
Thursday, the 18th, to a rendezvous five miles from Hamlacy, with intention for Worcester, Poins, and Rochester ; the enemy in the passage, whereupon we re-marched towards Hereford, so to Leominster, then to Webley, thence to Prestine, there halted ; at Mr. Andrew's : this march lasted from six in the morning till midnight, &c.	1	28
Friday, the 19th, to Newton ; Mr. Price's : a long march over the mountains	2	14
Sunday, the 21st, to Llanvillin, supper ; dinner, Mr. Price's	1	20
Monday, the 22nd, to Chirk Castle ; Sir John Watts's, the governor's	1	14
Tuesday, the 23rd, to Llangollen, 4 ; to Wrixham, 8 ; to Chester : a great fight between Chester and Tawin, the King victor, but made no use of it, leaving Ches-		

sume, to a remonstrance on the part of that honest gentleman in favour of one who was trusted and befriended by every one. Will. Legge here has evidently experienced the consequences of his brave letter to Lord Digby:—

	Nights	Miles
ter unrelieved. This was performed by the same horse[*] that fled at Naseby, on Rowton Heath, against Colonel Poyntz and the army under his command .	2	20
Thursday, the 25th, dinner at Chester; marched to Hawarden Castle, halted there; thence to Northop, to Skivioge, to Petvary, to Denbigh; William Salisbury of Bohambed governor	3	20
Sunday, the 28th, dinner at Denbigh;[†] supper late at Chirke Castle[‡]	1	18
Monday, the 29th, dinner at Chirke Castle; supper at Halton in Montgomeryshire, Mr. Lloyd's . .	1	26
Tuesday, the last, *prand. in campo*, supper at Bridgnorth, the governor's	2	30
October, 1645.		
Thursday, the 2nd, dinner at Ridgheath, the rendezvous; supper at Lichfield, the Close . . .	1	22
Friday, the 3rd, no dinner at Tongue; supper, Mr. Sutton's	1	15
Saturday, the 4th, no dinner at Newark; supper, Lord Danecourt's	9	26
Sunday, the 12th, to Tuxford's, the White Hart .	1	12
Monday, the 13th, dinner in the field at Welbeck; supper, Marquis of Newcastle's	1	12
Tuesday, the 14th, no dinner at Newark; supper, Lord Danecourt's	18	12

---

[*] "The Northern," under Sir M. Langdale. The Life-guards seconded their charge, and their gallant colonel, Lord Bernard Stuart (now Lord Lichfield), fell. He was the third brother of his House who died for the King in this war.

[†] "The castle is one of the strongest and noblest looking I ever saw."—*Sir Edward Walker*. Here the King learned the defeat of Montrose, his last hope, at Philiphaugh.

[‡] Here Prince Maurice joined the King with his own and part of Prince Rupert's horse.

FROM THE KING TO SECRETARY NICHOLAS.

For what concerns Will. Legge, I have no suspicion of, but what Lord Digby [cipher] informed me, which satisfies me as to what I have done, but will not believe him guilty of [cipher] trickery before I see more particular proofs.[1]

Newark, Oct. 10, 1645.

The Prince's own adventures will best be described in the notes to his own Diary: I insert them without comment, believing that their simplicity, and the unconscious pathos of some passages, will excuse some repetition, and interest the reader:[2]—

NOTES TO PRINCE RUPERT'S DIARY.

Copied verbatim.

Then the Prince had a letter from the King to discharge him of the Generalship, and Legge of the government of Oxford; Bristol having made a suggestion that he held correspondence with the Prince Elector, though he never wrote one letter to him. The King was then at Newark, and the Prince resolved to break through the enemy, and go to the King, and he accordingly took his troop, about eighty in number, and went to Banbury, where Prince Maurice came to him and accompanied the

---

[1] Evelyn's Correspondence, vol. v.

[2] If I should have given the impression that this Diary was written by the Prince himself, I must here observe that it is not in Rupert's handwriting. It consists of a number of notes chronologically arranged, evidently as memoranda for a formal biographical history. These notes seem to have been compiled partly from the Prince's words, partly from the anecdotes of those who served with him. Occasionally I meet with such memoranda as the following:—"The Prince does not recollect what happened here:" "Refer to Lord Gerrard for an account of this:" "Sir Robert Holmes tells this story, &c."

Prince, and there laid his design to get through Northampton and came to Burghley, to the Duke of Buckingham's house, which was a Parliament garrison, and as he marched by it the garrison came out, and one that was Governor there had been formerly in his Highness's troop. The Prince drew his troop into two divisions, in a broad high way there, and the Governor had out a small forlorn hope, which they beat in. The Governor came with the gross of his body, and knowing the Prince, he came up with his pistol and missed fire, and then cried for quarter, but the Prince shot him dead. And then in a short time the rest fled.

Lord Gerrard or Somerset Fox know the name of the Governor.

Now that the Prince's design of breaking through was known at London, they laid fifteen hundred horse for him at several places. After this, the Prince marched and came to a bridge not far from Belvoir Castle, where there were three hundred horse more. The Prince stood first toward the horse, as if he would charge them, and then upon a sudden turned, and the enemy followed him; the Prince turned and fought them, and beat them twice, by which the other forces of the enemy being alarmed they came up to the Prince. Says the Prince to his people, "we have beaten them twice, we must beat them once more, and then over the pass and away," which accordingly they did, then the Prince sent away his papers and baggage to Belvoir castle.

The enemy then came upon them, and the Prince having an old memory, of a particular way, which he had learned ten years before, being at Belvoir Castle in the last King's reign, and hunting and shooting of conies, remembered the way. The enemy sent forty horse after the Prince, the rest followed the gross of the troop. When they came near, they cried to Prince Rupert, "Will you have quarter?" The Prince com-

Lord Hawley was there, Prince Maurice, Lord Molineux, Sir Wm. Vavasour, and seventeen or eighteen more.

manded his people to come close together, and to turn when he turned. The enemy came down the hill in disorder, and the Prince beat them and Lord Molineux, killing a man upon a good mare, the Prince new mounted himself, and so fair and softly went to Belvoir. But some of the baggage the other way was lost, and about fourteen men.

From Belvoir Castle he went, next day, to Newark. When he came, the Governor drew out to receive him; and when he came in, the Prince desired the King, if he would have him go away, he might be tried by a Council of War; which he was, and cleared, the Earl of Lindsey being present. The thing in issue was, the yielding of Bristol; the Prince was cleared, and the King signed an instrument signifying as much. Then the Governor of Newark, Sir R. Willis, having drawn out of the town, as aforesaid, it was looked on as a crime, and he was turned out. Then Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, Lord Gerrard, Colonel Osborne, and Sir John James, desired leave of the King to be gone; and they had leave, and sent to the Parliament for a pass, and they would give none, except he would engage never to serve the King, which he refused.

They went now to Worcester, and there resolved to cross over the Avon, and go to Woodstock. The enemy had the pass, and refused him passage; whereupon, he borrowed some musketeers at Worcester, and beat the enemy, and he came and got over and got to Woodstock. From Woodstock the Prince wrote to the King to know what he should do; who sent him, by Colonel Legge, a paper to confess a fault, etc. Then the Prince sent a blank paper to the King by Colonel Legge, with his name subscribed, desiring His Majesty would set down what he should do, because he could not go with the Parliament's leave, nor stay with the King's. The King, with tears in his eyes, took that so well that all was at peace.

Now, that when Bristol [then Digby] heard the Prince was come, he proposes a design, and takes two thousand men, and goes away. (Q. Lord Gerrard).

At Newark before.

The Prince went to Oxford, and the King embraced him: and, as has been said, repented much the ill-usage of his nephew.

Duchess of Richmond.

The Prince was then desired to raise a Life-guard for the King; and he did raise, immediately, five troops of horse. Sir Thomas Fairfax, coming towards the place, the Prince undertook to furnish the town with provisions by those troops. But the Lords of the Council were against it, and so the Prince's troops were immediately dissolved.

These troops were ready to have attended the Prince in convoying the King to the Scots.

About this time [April], the King sent for the Prince, and desired him to go, with what force he could, to convoy him to the Scots; which the Prince undertook, but would have a command under his Majesty's hand, else not. The King was then in debate, whether to Ireland or Scotland. The Prince was rather for the Scots; in regard the King seemed well assured of their fidelity; and the King gave it, under his hand, with some qualifications; and then the Prince undertook it: and one night the King came, with Ashburnham and a parson, and told him he was going. The Prince was willing to have gone with him: the King said he would be discovered by his tallness. April 27, 1646. The King went away privately, in the said company. Fairfax came before the town of Oxford, and summoned it; and then some of his troops appeared before the town. And the Prince, with his brother and Lord Gerrard, went out and met with the Scots, which drew up, and would have run with the Prince into town. Whereupon the Prince sent into the town for some musketeers. They sent a few out. The Prince was about twenty horse, in stockings and shoes. The Parliament forces sent three bodies of horse against him, and they fell upon the Prince, and pressed him. There was some skirmishing, and two pages, Lord Gerrard and Prince Maurice's pages, were wounded by picketing; whereupon one of the enemy called Lord Gerrard, capon-tail! and challenged him; and a lieutenant of the enemy shot the Prince in the shoulder, and shook his hand, so that his pistol fell out of his hand, but it shot his enemy's horse.

The enemy then advanced, and sent two bodies to get betwixt the Prince and the town. The Prince sent to the town for some force, and placed himself between two marshes; and then the enemy came up, the middle troop most of them officers. The Prince brought his people all upon a front, and the enemy shot off all their carbines, and then they fell in upon them, and beat them, and the other two wings fell into bogs; then some came from the town, and played upon the enemy, and the Prince came back again.

When the enemy summoned, the Prince sent to the Governor, Sir Thomas Glenham, to know whether he would defend the town. He said he had orders from the King to obey the Council. Whereupon the Prince came not there but one day, and then they were making articles: they would make one for the Duke of York, and then the Prince demanded one particularly for himself. A certain Lord said the Prince was in good company; but he afterwards retracted, and asked pardon, by the Lord Gerrard. It was then asked of the Governor, if he would arrest the Prince for that, but he would not; and then the article was passed for the Prince.

The King found the garrison at Newark very strong in numbers, but its effectiveness much weakened by the dissoluteness strangely incidental to times of great danger. These hardy men had "held their lives in their hands" for many months, without being roused by any action with the enemy. Sir Richard Willis was then governor of Newark: fancying himself in an enemy's county, he had levied contributions almost at will upon the surrounding county, and dwelt in the castle in great state, assisted by a staff of twenty-four general officers.[1] The King immediately employed himself in retrenching their excesses, or at least their expenses, which were highly injurious both to his cause, and his convenience. The pampered Cavaliers highly resented this reformation, and complained that they alone had been thus blamed and visited, while Goring and Grenville acted as they pleased, without rebuke. A report now arrived, that Montrose had obtained another victory, by which Philiphaugh was more than revenged, and the poor King once more set forth in search of a conquering army that he could call his own. Lord Digby counselled this movement, as he had advised the King's move to Newark, and both from private motives. He discovered that the unworthy dismissal of Rupert without a hearing, was justly visited on his head; that a large and powerful party had taken up the Prince's cause, and that a storm of the most disagreeable nature impended over him. Lord Digby was a daring man, but he shrank from a contest which placed him in such an unworthy light; above all, he could not summon resolution to meet the man for whom he had professed such affection and devotion, now armed with injuries. For this purpose he led away his royal master to Newark, hoping to place a barrier of many dangers between him and his enemy. But dangers were nothing, if not attractive to the fiery young Palatine at any time.

---

[1] Walker's Historical Discourses, 145.

> "He had not quailed at danger's brow
> When high and happy—need he now!"

Smarting under a sense of wrong, and burning to confront himself with the false Digby who had lied away his fame, the Prince was now on his way to seek the King. Commands came from Digby in the King's name forbidding his approach; but his was not a mood or a case to stand upon punctilio, and observe ordinances concocted and even signed by his arch-enemy; then submissively to go forth upon the world "to seek his subsistence" with a brand upon his name. Prince Maurice, too, had now joined him, determined to take his fate with his brother's, whatever might betide. The Diary has told us through what dangers the Princes passed in their march, which lay through the midst of the enemy's country. Then it was that Digby induced the King to move further northwards still.[1]

Arrived at Rotherham, as we have seen, the King learned that Montrose was, like himself, a fugitive:

---

[1] Sir Edward Walker, p. 145, and Clarendon, who followed him.

and so he prepared to return, if possible, to Oxford. But Digby did not dare to return: he sought a commission from the King to march to the assistance of Montrose, and it was granted. Lord Digby, with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Northern Horse, and the title of "General of the King's forces North of Trent,"[1] went away to seek Montrose: he had only fifteen hundred troopers, but they constituted the King's chief strength; and as it proved, they would have been sufficient to conquer all the scattered Roundheads of the North. But the Secretary-at-War rode forth upon his new career in as vain-glorious and selfish a spirit as ever knight-errant did of old. In a few days his veteran troops were scattered to the winds, and himself on board a fishing-smack, seeking refuge in the Isle of Man.

The King returned to Newark, and Rupert set out from Belvoir Castle to wait upon him. All the principal Cavaliers at Newark, with the Governor at their head, went out to meet their gallant chief, and this gave the umbrage to his Majesty that is mentioned in the Diary. The account that Walker gives of the Prince's reception is curious. He informs us that the Prince's "train consisted of one hundred and twenty noblemen and gentlemen," with whom he had fought his way from Oxford. On arriving at Oxford, Prince Rupert "comes straight into the presence, and without any usual ceremony, tells his Majesty that he was come to render an account of the loss of Bristol. His Majesty made him but little answer, but went to supper, Prince Rupert and his brother standing by his Majesty addressing himself in discourse to Prince Maurice." Rupert, however, was not to be disposed of thus: he demanded and obtained a court-martial. There he pleaded the reasons that have been transcribed in his Declaration, and the verdict of the "Council of War," as it was called, was as follows:—

---

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion, v. 288. The following comment is made by the Parliamentary Journal, "Mercurius Britannicus" of Nov. 10th, 1645 :—"It is remarkable that Prince Rupert, and all the Protestant leaders should be deposed for Popish Digby. . . The game is still alive; Goring in the West, with six or seven thousand men is still to be dreaded, and our Parliament wants money." Goring soon removed their fears as regarded *his* opposition.

CHARLES R.

Whereas, our right dear and entirely beloved nephew, Prince Rupert, did, at a Council of war, held by us, at Newark, the eighteenth of this instant, October,—there being then present our right-trusty and wellbeloved cousin, and councillor, Montague Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain of England; our right trusty and right wellbeloved cousin, Richard Earl of Cork; our right trusty and wellbeloved Jacob Lord Astley, Field-Marshal-General of our army; John Lord Bellasis, Captain-General of our Horse-guards: and Charles Lord Gerrard, Lieutenant-General of all our horse forces; our trusty and wellbeloved Sir Richard Willis, knight and baronet, governor of Newark; and John Ashburnham, esquire, our Treasurer at war;—desire to clear himself for the rendering the city and garrison of Bristol, with the castle and forts thereof; and thereupon produced a narrative of the matter-of-fact during the siege, with the articles for the rendering of those places; which being accordingly read and considered, we were then pleased to say; that we did not believe our said nephew to be guilty of any the least want of courage or fidelity to us, in the doing thereof; but, withal, we believed that he might have kept the castle and fort a longer time; we having absolutely resolved speedily to have drawn together all the forces we possibly could, and to have hazarded our own person for his relief. Our design being so laid, as that in probability it would have succeeded. To which our said right dear nephew answered, that whatever he did therein, was by the advice of the Council of war of that garrison; and that he could not, in his judgment, possibly expect such relief. Besides, he alleged, that he had not received from us any intimation thereof; but said that if he had, he would have maintained those places to the last man; though the tender regard he had to the preservation of so many officers and soldiers, was the chief reason that induced him to capitulate for the whole; they having so long and faithfully served us. All which our said right dear nephew humbly submitted to our judgment. Who, upon which, at a second hearing, before ourself, this twenty-first day of October, the Lords and others above-named being then likewise present, and, upon a serious consideration of the whole matter, we were then pleased to declare, that we were fully satisfied that our said right dear nephew, Prince Rupert, is not guilty of any the least want of courage or fidelity to us, or our service, in that action: and we then gave leave to the Lords and others, above specified, to declare their opinions in that point. Who, upon our leave, and a full consideration of the narrative formerly delivered, did unanimously concur with us; declaring, likewise, that our said right dear nephew is not guilty of any the least want of courage or fidelity to us, or our service, in that action.

Given under our sign manual, at our Court, at Newark,
this twenty-first of October, 1645.

This verdict was a great triumph to Prince Rupert's party; and if the King had acted upon it, all might still have been well, and Rupert have been spared the greatest error, if not crime, that the history of his life contains. It was unwise, perhaps, of the King to act in accordance with his angry feelings rather than with his judgment; and with respect to this business of Bristol we have the following observation from one of Rupert's severest censurers. Lord Clarendon says,[1] "that the King's 'rigour' towards the Prince was thought to be over sudden, that he [Rupert] should be made the first example of the King's severity, where so many high enormities and miscarriages of others had passed without being called in question." The very reason for that "rigour" he now dismissed officially, but he seems to have exhibited his discountenance of the acquitted Prince in a very decided manner. At length he determined to depart suddenly for Oxford, and resolved to supersede Sir Richard Willis as Governor of Newark, and to appoint Lord Bellasis,[2] Lord Digby's friend, in his place.

"The King, at the same time, appointed Sir

---

[1] Hist. Reb. v. 253.

[2] Lord Bellasis was afterwards killed in a drunken quarrel in France.

Richard to the command of his Life Guards in Lord Lichfield's[1] place. Sir Richard, however, saw only in this appointment a pretext for his displacement as Governor, (as, indeed, the King confessed,) and was grievously offended. He consulted his friends, at the head of whom was Prince Rupert, and they all agreed that he should demand a trial by a Council of war for the misdemeanour, of which absolutely in our eyes he was guilty. With a view of making this request the two Princes, Lord Gerrard, Sir Richard Willis, and about twenty other officers, went to the King whilst he was at dinner. The King rose to receive them. Sir Richard Willis said that his dishonour was public, and the talk of the town; Rupert said that he felt obliged to stand by Sir Richard, as he had suffered through having befriended him; Lord Gerrard said that the appointment of Lord Bellasis was Digby's doing, that Digby was a traitor, and that he could prove him so."[2] We are not told what part the King took in this extraordinary conversation, but he expressed a wish to speak to Sir Richard Willis in private. Sir Richard, worked up into passionate forgetfulness of all duty and decorum, replied, that as his injury was public, so he expected a public satisfaction. Whereupon the King commanded his officers to leave the room, and they obeyed. The other general officers of the garrison were immediately summoned to the King, and it was debated what course to take with these wild Cavaliers. To let them alone was the sensible decision. In the evening they forwarded the petition subjoined, and in return they received their passports.[1] The rest of the story is thus told in a

---

[1] Better known to us as Lord Bernard Stuart; killed at Chester.

[2] See Edward Walker, p. 149.

---

[1] COPY OF PRINCE RUPERT'S PETITION, &C. DELIVERED AT NEWARK.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

Whereas, in all humility, we came to present ourselves this day unto your Majesty, to make our several grievances known. We find we have drawn upon us some misconstruction by the manner of that, by reason your Majesty thought it appeared as a mutiny. We, therefore, the persons subscribed with all humbleness and carefulness present unto your Majesty that we, who from the beginning of this unhappy war, have given testimony to your Majesty and the world, of our fidelity and zeal, do think ourselves unhappy to lie under your Majesty's censure. We do, in all humility, present these reasons unto your sacred Majesty rather in writing than personally, lest we should hazard a second misrepresentation.

That many of us trusted in high commands in your Majesty's service, have not only our commission taken away without any reason or cause expressed, whereby our honours are blemished to the world, our fortunes ruined, and we rendered incapable of trust or command from any foreign Prince; but many others, as we have cause to fear, are designed to suffer in the same manner.

Our intention in addressing ourselves to your Majesty, and our submission now are, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased that such of us as now labour under the opinion of unworthiness or incapacity to serve your Majesty, may, at a Council of War, receive knowledge of the cause of your Majesty's displeasure, and have the justice of defence after what can be alleged against us, and, in particular, concerning this government [of Newark], and if, upon the severest examination, our integrity and loyalty to your Majesty shall appear, that then your Majesty be graciously pleased to grant us either reparation in honour against our enemies, or liberty to pass into other parts, which are the humblest desires of your Majesty's most obedient and loyal subjects and servants.—*Evelyn's Memoirs*, v. 150.

Parliamentary journal.[1] It was reported that weapons had been drawn in the King's presence,[2] but Sir Edward Walker, who was present, does not allude to that outrage.

---

[1] At length the King was enforced to rouse himself, and to interpose between their angry swords, and commanded peace to be observed. The malady being treated without but not within. The King, not many hours after, sent for the two princes—who, being come unto him, he assured them that, in this present condition wherein he was, it brought some comfort to him to see them with him, which comfort he desired might be continued; having of late been exercised with afflictions upon afflictions, that he needed no addition to them. For his own part he made no doubt of their fidelity, but he said that, after having made so many obligations to him, if they should now nourish any secret design to turn into his adversaries, either through fear or hope, that he was afraid would bring but little credit to them. To this Prince Rupert answered, that he honoured his Majesty too much to take offence at anything which he pleased to have done; that he was well pleased if his Majesty would acknowledge his innocency—to which, we hear, that his Majesty made reply, he did. The Princes being departed from the presence of his Majesty repaired presently to Gerrard, with whom they took new counsel, and disdaining to remain at a Court wherein the Spanish and Irish faction did mingle, they called together their friends, about four hundred, and marched to Worton House, fourteen miles from Newark. The King looking out of a window, and weeping to see them as they went.—*Mercurius Britannicus, King's Pamphlets*, vol. ccxxxii. No. 5.

[2] Pepys, who had no good will towards Rupert, as we shall find hereafter, thus exaggeratingly relates an exaggerated story :—

"My Lord Bellasis told us how the King having newly put out Prince Rupert of his generalship, upon some miscarriage at Bristol, and Sir Richard Willis from his governorship of Newark, at the entreaty of the gentry of the county, and put in my Lord Bellasis; the great officers of the King's army mutinied, and came in that manner with swords drawn into the market-place of the town where the King was; whereupon the King says, 'I must horse.' And there himself personally, when everybody expected they should be opposed, the King came, and cried to the head of the mutineers, which was Prince Rupert, "Nephew, I command you be gone.' So the Prince, in all his fury and discontent, withdrew, and his company scattered."—*Pepys's Diary*, vol. i. p. 329.

There is but one palliative circumstance in all this transaction; it is certain that Rupert's wrongs or his popularity must have been very great to induce so many of his commanders to leave their King. The seceding Cavaliers established themselves at Belvoir Castle, whence they forwarded the following despatch to the Houses of Parliament:—

FROM PRINCE RUPERT, TO THE LORDS AND COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

Having determined, with my brother Prince Maurice, my Lord Stanley, Lord Gerrard, Sir R. Willis, and many other Officers and Gentlemen, to leave this kingdom, being altogether disengaged from the service we have been in, it hath given me the occasion to desire this favour from you, that you would grant a pass and safe convoy for me, my brother Prince Maurice and these Noblemen and Gentlemen that came along with me, together with their servants, horses, and all necessaries, to go beyond the seas or to retire to their houses, as shall be most convenient for them. And I engage my honour for myself and them, that no act of hostility shall be done by us, and that there is no other design in our journey, but to go wherever our particular occasion or designs shall lead us. I have therefore addressed unto you this gentleman, Lieutenant-Colonel Osborne, who can assure you that my intentions are no other than what I have professed; and by him I shall expect a return of my desire. And herein you shall much oblige

Your Friend and Servant,

RUPERT.[1]

October 29, 1645.

---

[1] From the rejected Clarendon State Papers (MSS.) in the Bodleian Library.

The result of Colonel Osborne's mission is thus related by himself:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I presented, this morning, your letter to my Lord Grey, of Warwick, who is Speaker of the House of Lords. I found, upon my first arrival, that the granting of your desires in your letter would be so unwillingly consented to, that I thought it fit to add to them in the behalf of those persons that come along with you, and I pretended I had received orders from your Highness to do it; and, after that, I was called into the Lords' house, and had told them what were your further desires. The Lords bid me deliver them to them in writing, which I did according to the paper here inclosed. Upon these demands they make a demur; but the letter they have sent down to the House of Commons, who will make no difficulty in the granting of it. And I am confident, although they may make a stay upon the yielding to what is desired in this paper, yet there may be brought so many more reasons why those demands should be granted, rather than denied, that they will yield to them at the last: especially since I have told them, that upon the granting or denial of them, I believed, did depend your Highness's resolutions; and they are so fearful that you should return again to the King's service, that, to draw you from that, they will consent to anything. But I hear that the Lords, upon debate, made this objection: that these desires were not mentioned in your letter, nor was it mentioned that I had any power to propound anything more to them; and that I ought to have had some letter of credence to that effect. I shall, therefore, desire your Highness to send me some letter, wherein you give me authority to make those demands to the Parliament, and own them as yours; which, if they grant, it will not only be much for the advantage of those gentlemen who are with your Highness, but also for your own honour. And certainly, otherwise, no man must expect to preserve any estate he hath. And if there shall be occasion, your Highness may find pretence enough to decline any part of those demands. But I believe you will not need, for I have given out suspicions that the King is now treating with you to come to him again, and that if you have not a very good answer in all you shall desire, I could not tell what resolution you might take, and the apprehension of this . . . . . not a little, insomuch that Sir Thomas Cheek, of the Lower House, told me that he was clearly for the granting of them.

The Declaration and Narrative of Bristol are printing; but I hear the Queen says publicly, at Paris, that you sold the town for money. There is news come lately that Prince Edward is turned Papist and gone to Rome, and that the Pope and Emperor will make him Prince Elector. At the last fight of my Lord Digby, he lost all his letters, which the Parliament took, and three score ciphers, by which they have deciphered most of the letters, which, before, they could make nothing of. And, this afternoon, a committee hath been reading many of them. Amongst the letters they last took, there was one from the King to your Highness, being an answer to a letter of yours, of July last, where you advised him to peace, and not to trust the Irish. This letter hath done you a great deal of right, and gained much of their good opinion. There is, this day, a letter come to the Parliament, from the North, which relates a second, and, they say, a total defeat of my Lord Digby's forces. I shall desire, sir, you would be pleased to send me your answer to the first part of this letter immediately upon the receipt of it, for it requires a great deal of haste, and with it a cipher and certificate.

Your Highness's most faithful and obedient Servant,

HENRY OSBORNE.

London, November 1, 1645.

This ambassador writes again on the 9th of November, saying that the Parliament would only give a pass on promise not to serve the King again. These terms were rejected by the Prince. On the 10th we have the following letter :—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I thought to have sent away this other letter this morning, but some things hindered it, and I am not sorry for the delay, since by this day I can give your Highness some better account of your business; for this morning your pass was despatched by both Houses, and it was to be sent by me, and Colonel Pickering was to come along with me with instructions from the Parliament. Thereupon I desired to know the condition of the pass, which was, as I had heard before, to the effect I have signified in my other letter. I then let the Parliament know that that was no answer to what was desired by your Highness, and that they had not granted hardly in any part what you expected, that your Highness's letter, by which I was authorized to make further propositions to them, was not read in the House by my Lord Grey, nor the propositions so much as debated, which I said signified but very little with respect to your Highness, and that if they would not give a more satisfactory answer than this pass, I desired they would send somebody else with it, for I would not carry it. Thereupon they sent for me this afternoon, the committee of both kingdoms, where they desired to see your Highness's letter with the instructions which they read, and after some debate called me in, and desired me to come thither again to-morrow in the afternoon, and I should have an answer. And I hear my Lord Grey was reproved for not reading it in the House. So that, perhaps, I may have such a despatch to-morrow as may be worth the bringing; if I cannot, I shall send your Highness, as near as I can, the truest state of your business, and I believe they are to be disputed into better conditions. I rest,

Your Highness's most faithful and obedient servant,

HENRY OSBORNE.

London, November 10, 1645.

A pass was sent by the same messenger, provided a promise was given by the Cavaliers, never again to bear arms against the Parliament. This they refused, and they fought their way to Worcester and then to Woodstock.

There the Prince and his friends remained for some time. Meanwhile the King reached Oxford, and on Nicholas's expostulation released Will Legge from arrest. He thus writes on the 21st November, 1645:—

MY MOST DEAR PRINCE,

The liberty that I have got is but of little contentment when divided from you. Four days after his Majesty's arrival here, Mr. Ashburnham fetched me to kiss his hand, without any expostulation for my commitment, since which I have waited in the chamber.[1] The first discourse I had with him was concerning you, where he gave me a relation of the unhappy breach between you, which I would to God had never been. But now that what is past cannot be recalled, I shall humbly beseech you to look forward to what may be the best for your future honour and advantage. Since I had the honour to be your servant, I never had other desire than faithfully to serve you, and when I leave to pursue that, may I die forgotten! I have not hitherto lost a day without moving his Majesty to recal you, and truly this very day he protested to me he would count it a great happiness to have you with him, so he received that satisfaction he is bound in honour to have, and what that is, you will receive from the Duke of Richmond. The King says, as he is your uncle, he is in the nature of a parent to you, and swears if Prince Charles had done as you did, he would never see him without the same he desires from you; I beseech you consider well of your affairs, and let me but receive your directions, and there never shall be anything wanting that may render me

---

[1] He was not restored, however, to the governorship of Oxford, which Sir Thomas had the honour of surrendering.

Your most obliged faithful servant,

November 26, 1645. W. LEGGE.

P.S. [almost illegible] You must thank [Duchess of Richmond, I believe] for she furnished a present to procure this messenger, I not being so happy as to have [any money] myself.

Again on the 25th November:—

MY DEAREST PRINCE,

Your brother's man would not do me the favour to call on me for this letter, although I told him I had it ready. I am of opinion you should write to your uncle, seeing your stay hath been so long in his quarters in Woodstock—you ought to do it: and if you offered your service to him yet, and submitted yourself to his disposing and advice, many of your friends think it could not be a dishonour, but rather the contrary, seeing he is a king, your uncle, and in effect a parent to you. If it were possible for me to come where you are, I would not fail to come to you, or if you come near I shall do the same.

Dear Prince, God of Heaven bless your faithful poor servant WILL. LEGGE.

November 25, 1645.

P.S. This bearer goes purposely to carry our letters to you, we not else knowing how to send.

I fear that these wise exhortations did not produce this desired effect, for I find the Earl of Dorset writing the following excellent letter, some weeks later:—

SIR,

If my prayers can prevail, you shall not have the heart to leave us all in our saddest times; and if my advice were worthy of following, truly you should not abandon your uncle in the disastrous condition his evil stars have placed him. Let your resolution be as generous and great as is your birth and courage. Resolve, princely sir, to sink or swim with the King; adjourn all particular respects or interests until the public may give way to such unlucky disputes. Howsoever, so great are my obligations to your noble and benign interpretations of my good wishes and humble endeavours to serve you as I shall accompany your person and your undertakings in any other foreign course, with my most zealous orisons for a prosperous success in all; and God in heaven inspire you to do that which may produce the best effects to his glory, the King's service, and your own honour and safety. All which, in my opinion, may be most securely found in your stay here, and assistance of us. I rest, sir,

Your Highness's most humble servant,
And affectionate friend,
DORSET.

December 25, 1645.

Still the Prince continues obdurate. He perhaps flattered himself he was playing the part of Coriolanus. The importance of his services is admitted in the next letter, which is from Secretary Nicholas:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I beseech your Highness to decipher this, as soon as it comes to your hand.

Upon occasion of a letter now written to the King, after a long and serious debate by the Lords of the Council here, touching his Majesty's armies' marching into the North, I beseech your Highness to give me leave, as a servant that truly honours you, humbly to desire you seriously to weigh what may be the consequence for your Highness, singly; for what your officers and soldiers shall do, will be understood as your act to oppose and withstand the advice of all the King's council, in a matter of so high concernment. Wherein, I assure you, every one of them have unanimously concurred, and delivered clearly their opinions, that it will be absolutely destruction to the King's affairs, which are in no way conceived to be in no ill condition; for his army to march at this time into the North; and that his going immediately into the associated counties will soon put an end to these unhappy troubles, and bring peace to this kingdom: which is that which I know your Highness affects above all, and would take to be your greatest glory to be a happy instrument of. Sir, you are now looked upon as a person that hath reason to expect a fortune in this kingdom; and that hath begot in me this presumption, to tender to your consideration my humble advice, not to draw upon yourself the envy to be thought to persuade the King, in a business of so great importance and hazard, against the joint and unanimous advice of all his Council. Having thus over-boldly presumed, out of my true affection to your person, to give your Highness the truth of my humble conception, I humbly submit myself and it to your Highness's serious consideration, in quality of, sir,

Your Highness's most humble and faithful servant,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Oxford, January 10, 1646.

All this time the King's affairs were daily becoming more desperate. Basing-House had been taken with great slaughter by Cromwell; Shelford and Werton were also taken; all South Wales, except Ragland, was lost; Chester and Belvoir soon followed; the Scots entered Newark, and Fairfax was steadily advancing in Devonshire; Goring had received orders to break through and join the King at Newark; but that utter villain had gathered together all the money he could squeeze out of his district, and departed for France. In order to save himself from being considered as a deserter, he pretended an affront, and wrote the following letter to the Earl of Dorset, now, I believe, Secretary to the King in Lord Digby's place:—

[The beginning of this letter is lost.]

. . . . . . honour, quietly to remit all the power into their hands, than by contesting with them; to cherish their divisions, which have and do continually retard the success of his Majesty's army in these parts. I do, therefore, most humbly beseech his Majesty, in recompense of something I have acted and suffered in his service, to give me my discharge, and to lay me quietly aside, until such an occasion may happen as I may serve the King, without the opposition of those that have the honour to be near his Majesty's affairs. In the mean time, I think it my duty to acquaint his Majesty, that unless there be some speedy course used to dispose these clubmen to the King's service, and to settle a good understanding between the army, garrisons, and the country, there will an inevitable ruin light upon the whole West: and my humble opinion to his Majesty is, that without his personal appearance here, all things will be in a confusion, and that within a very few days. But, by that, I am very confident his Majesty will unite all these parts to his obedience; and upon the place, his Majesty will find who are they that have served him with most warmth and loyalty. I shall beg the honour to know, speedily, to whom I shall resign the command of this army; and I pray God and heaven send them better success than I had with it, and as much zeal to the King's service as I ever had, and shall preserve to my death, in what condition soever I am. And having had, in the two last letters, assurance of the continuance of your Lordship's favour, I shall beg this testimony of it; that, although I am turned out of my command, yet I may remain in your thoughts, as one that may live to do his Majesty service.

I am your Lordship's most humble, faithful servant,
George Goring.

Pondesford, January 25, 1646.

No sooner had he despatched this letter, than without waiting for a reply, he abandoned his troops and took shipping for France, having had too good an understanding with the Parliament to run any risk of being intercepted. The King was become anxious for the safety of Prince Charles, who was first directed to proceed to Denmârk, afterwards to France; and there to remain under his mother's care in all matters except that of religion, which the Bishop of Salisbury was to superintend.

In December the King had made propositions to the Parliament for peace, but they refused to hear of any reconciliation, except on their own terms. "They felt," says Sir Edward Walker, "that they must either live as conquerors, or die as traitors;" and seems to consider them unreasonable in preferring the former alternative.

Still the King's cause lost ground; but still he struggled on. Lord Astley was made General of Hereford, Salop, Worcester, and Stafford, and sent thither to make levies: Sir Charles Lucas was made General of Horse, and accompanied his colleague. The old dissensions between the military governors of towns and the civil commissioners proved more virulent and disastrous to the cause than ever. All failed: even the official affairs in Oxford were dilatory, ill executed, and contradictorily managed. The Irish levies experienced their usual fate, and came to nothing.[1]

Hereford, Harwarden, and Ruthen castles next yielded; Astley and Lucas were defeated and taken prisoners at Stow in the Wold; Exeter fell before Fairfax, and left him free to besiege Oxford. The King listens to false overtures from the false Scots, and negotiates with them through M. de Montreuil, the French agent or spy.[2] Politics daily assumed a more sectarian character; the schism between the Independents and Presbyterians[1] was complete; the latter assumed moderation, and deprecated all injury to the King, whom they had brought so low. Milton's powerful taunt against them on this occasion is not to be forgotten. Hear him:—

---

[1] Lord Glamorgan's efforts were thus once more rendered fruitless. There is an unintelligible passage in Sir Edward Walker (p. 151) relating to him and to his "commitment, whose faults were rendered so odious, as that it were a crime to do any good for the family, though in reference to a greater to ourselves."

[2] Who thus writes concerning the King's holding out, as Spallanzani might have done concerning the vitality of a tortured and mortally wounded frog: "Mais ce qui porte davantage à croire, que le Roi d'Angleterre le maintiendra encore quelque temps, est, que ceux, qui sont plus puissans dans le Parlement, ne veulent pas

> And if chance or flight had not saved the King, how often had the Presbyterians killed him, directing their artillery, without blame or prohibition, to the very place where they saw him stand? Have they not sequestered him, judged or unjudged, and converted his revenue to other uses, detaining from him, as a grand delinquent, all means of livelihood, so that, for them, long since he might have perished or have starved? Have they not hunted and pursued him round about the kingdom with sword

---

le fin d'une guerre dont ils tirent beaucoup de profit." He adds: "Il se dit, que le Prince Rupert parla avec beaucoup de hardiesse au Roi en prenant congé de lui, et lui fit des reproches assez sensibles jusqu'à lui dire, qu'il n'avançoit pres de sa personne que des coquins et des méchans."—*Extract of M. de Montreuil's Letter to M. de Brienne.*

[1] This letter illustrates the King's policy and hopes:—

FROM KING CHARLES TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

I thank you for the account you sent me by this bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you that my going to Westm. is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a treaty with Com. there or thereabouts, and that you mention the security I ask with my coming to Westm. And I hope I need not remember you to cajole well [both] the Independents and Scots. This bearer will tell you how well our Western and Northern Associations go on, to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.*

[No date.]

* King Charles's Works.

and fire?[1] Have they not formerly desired to treat with him, and their now recanting ministers preached against him, as a reprobate incurable, an enemy to God and his Church, marked for destruction, and therefore not to be treated with? Have they not besieged him, and to their power desired him water and fire, save what they shot against him to the hazard of his life? Yet, while they thus endangered and assaulted it with hostile deeds, they swore, in words, to defend it with his crown and dignity.[2]

This division of parties seemed to hold out some hope to the King, at which his sanguine hopes eagerly grasped. But for the question of Church government, however, there is little doubt that the Presbyterians would have saved the King, if not the kingdom.[3]

---

[1] "Did they not swear, at first, to fight
For the King's safety and his right,
And after march'd to find him out,
And charg'd him home with horse and foot,
But yet still had the confidence
To swear it was in his defence?"
Hudibras, Part II. Canto 2.

[2] Milton's Prose Works, vol. ii.

[3] Charles is accused even of being secretly a Papist; he accepted the aid of Irish subjects* in his extremity, when the English and the Scotch Churches were arrayed against him for wishing to preserve the discipline of the former; he maintained, in a chastened form, the marriage article, which assured to his Queen the safe exercise of her religion; and when he was in Spain, a mere boy, he corresponded with the Pope. To these proofs are added the assertion that he made vows! (see Howel!) that he was superstitious (who was not?); and that he was zealous

---

* "Cursed be the laws that deprive me of such men!" said the King of England, when he saw his English troops borne back by his alien Irish, who were forced to seek service with a Roman Catholic sovereign against their own.

But never was the mechanism of destiny, if I may use the expression, so traceable and manifest, as in the concluding career of this doomed King. As the Ten that soon ruled old England with Decemvir tyranny, hunted down their monarch through all his wanderings, with bloodhound vigilance and patience, a thousand chances of escape seem to offer: every virtue and every vice by turns seem to offer aid to the Royal fugitive; loyalty, at one moment, seems about to rescue him from insult by transcendant bravery; selfish interest, at another, offers to replace him on his throne. "Make Dukes of your traitors, Earls and Barons of your red-handed rebels," says the Parliament just now,[1] "add to my Lord Cromwell's title a pension of £2,500 a year, and to other disinterested patriots, issue testimonials of merit in proportion, and you shall be once more our King!" There were certain other matters, concerning the abandonment of the ancient rituals of the Church, and the shedding of the blood of those adherents who had not already drained their vein upon the battle-fields that were to follow; but even to these the King "obstinately" objected. Well was it for the Falkland and the Hampden of 1648, that they did not live to see these

---

for the observance of the ritual that Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer died for. As to the rest, let us read such sentiments, prayers, and speeches as even his enemies have recorded, and if "Papistry" can be brought to such a spirit as they speak, we can only say that Papistry is a right noble creed!

[1] Whitelocke, p. 187.

days. Peace to the ashes of the chivalrous Lindsey, Carnarvon, Northampton, Denbigh!—they had died upon the field of honour, while the cause on both sides was yet pure—pure, at least, from those foul stains of falsehood, bloodthirstiness, and rapacity, that fell upon the warriors of England in later times. The curse of Civil War seemed to have smitten indiscriminately all whose pure souls were not above its reach. The Cavalier governors of towns and forts turn into robbers of romantic vice and daring;[1] the Puritans intensify their equal atrocities[2] with the cant of hypocrisy, and the horrors of blasphemy. "The Cavaliers," as one of themselves admitted, "have the vices of men—the love of wine and women; but the Roundheads have the vices of devils—hypocrisy and spiritual pride."

The situation of the Cavaliers, who were not in a position to be feared, was now very unenviable; all those who had a fair excuse, and many who had not, had left the kingdom; Hyde, Capel, Culpepper, and Hopton for the Scilly Islands, to Prince Charles; Goring, to Paris; Digby and Langdale, to Ireland,[1] and others dispersed over Europe. Those who remained and were not in the surviving garrisons, were besieged, pillaged, or outcasts. After their long and vain strife, they found themselves in the position of worsted soldiers.[2]

---

[1] I take for instance the first memorandum, amongst many that I find:—

Warrant from Colonel (Lord) Bard to the constables for contributions. "Know, that unless you bring me on — day to my house in Worcester, the monthly contribution for six months, that you are to expect a troop of unsanctified horse among you; from whom, if you hide yourselves, they shall fire your houses without mercy, hang up your bodies and scare your ghosts."—*Whitelocke's Mem.* p. 181.

[2] I need only allude to the names of Goring and Richard Grenville. Extract of a letter in Lord Denbigh's MSS.—"Colonel Massey (Roundhead Governor of Gloucester) doth so harry and plunder the people in these parts that we beseech you to have him removed." It is curious, in an abstract of the letters relating to the Civil War, to observe how the character of the combatants, on both sides, darkens down as the war proceeds. There is no other epoch in history of which we have a similar opportunity of judging the consequences, and marking the excesses of Civil War.

Nor were the Roundhead aristocracy and gentry, much more happily circumstanced: the committees of counties, selected on account of their democratic feelings, were, for the most part, men of inferior station, who, in this saturnalia of authority, delighted to lord it over their once powerful neighbours. The peculiarities that had qualified them to carry out the Parliamentary views were not such as inspired either esteem or respect, and wrong the aristocrats, even, of their own persuasion.

The fight, as regarded the open field, was lost, and the King still strove to continue it by diplomacy; in this he was equally unsuccessful. At length he determined to break away from England altogether, and join the Scots.

---

[1] Clarendon's Life, i. 187.

[2] But so have I known a bold trooper fight in the confusion of a battle, and, being warm with heat and rage, receive from the sword of his enemy wounds open like a grave; but he felt them not; and when, by the streams of blood, he found himself marked for pain, he refused to consider then what he was to feel to-morrow; but when his rage hath cooled into the temper of a man, and clammy moisture hath checked the fiery emission of spirit, he wonders at his own boldness, and blames his fate, and needs a mighty patience to bear his great calamity.—*Apple of Sodom, Jeremy Taylor's Works*, v. 293.

Meanwhile, Prince Rupert had returned to his duty; having written the following letter, which found acceptance, he and his brother, and their friends, cut their way through the enemy from Worcester to Oxford.[1]

SIRE,

I am sorry to understand, by William Legge, that your Majesty hath not that satisfaction which I endeavoured to give your Majesty in my last letter, and conceived to have given you therein; and now I shall once again freely acknowledge my errors, and humbly entreat your Majesty to consider me by the better and more lasting expression of my zeal and affection, and to pardon what is done amiss, and to accept it where it cannot err, which is in all humble duty and service to your Majesty; in which way be pleased to command and dispose as you shall think fit . . . .

I am sorry to hear that my former expressions have not so been understood as was really intended by me; wherefore, to leave all repetitions, I humbly acknowledge that great error which I find your Majesty justly sensible of, which happened upon occasion at Newark. It having been a misunderstanding of friendship, I hope it will be the easier past by by your Majesty, since the foundation of love and affection to your service has ever been really in my heart; wherefore, I humbly beseech your Majesty to dispose of me in the way you think fittest.

For you . . . . . .

---

[1] See Whitelocke's Memoirs, p. 187.

SIRE,

The great value at which I have ever esteemed your Majesty's favour and affection to me, hath always had such rule in my thoughts as in my contentment it hath made up a greater portion to believe you inclined to me, than the effect of that favour, though I were happy by it. That I have, or ever shall have, less affection to your Majesty than I now express, I cannot wrong myself in point of truth, how advantageous soever it might prove to me to allow; but that my carriage hath always been of that appearance to others, or that your Majesty could always so understand of it, I only rely upon your goodness to interpret. My having been now some time as I am from you, is too great an evidence to persuade a belief of my failing of that respect and duty I owe you, because your favour and affection to those of so near relation as I have the honour to be in, will not be thought so unsteady as to have given any cause. Nor shall I say it hath, but freely to your Majesty acknowledge my errors, when you shall think them such, which the constancy of my affection and duty to your Majesty makes me now do, and now humbly intreat your Majesty that you will consider me by the better and more lasting expressions of my zeal to you, and to pardon wherein that hath made me do amiss, and to accept it when it cannot err; which is in all humble duty and service to your Majesty, in which way be pleased to command and dispose as you shall think fit of

* * * *

To the King, without date or subscription, 1645.
From his Highness Prince Rupert.

It is but justice to the Palatines to say that they had been offered free exit and honorable consideration, if they would promise never more to fight against the Parliament; this they declined to do, and thus proved their fidelity, at the expense not only of their interest but of their passion. As soon as the King had resolved upon the Scottish project, he announced his intention to Rupert, who promptly volunteered to follow him wheresoever he should go. The Prince little suspected that the King's "progress" was to be an escape, not a sally; that the King was to issue from the noble and loyal City of Oxford by night, by stealth, and in a mean disguise. When the plan was fully explained, however, Rupert still determined to share the humble fortunes of his chief, but he was forbidden; his stately figure, the King feared, would not pass unnoticed through the enemy.[1] The Prince finding that he was not to share the danger, endeavoured to dissuade his uncle from it, but in vain. He then obtained the following letter, absolving him of all blame in the transaction: experience had taught him, as Lord Worcester boldly stated to Charles the Second, not to place any confidence in mere verbal expressions:—

NEPHEW,

This is for your satisfaction, to acknowledge to you that my going to the Scotch army is of such imminent danger to my person, imminent in respect of the numbers and placing of the rebel forces between this and where I am to go, that your opinion is, I should *not* undertake it. So far you are from giving me any advice for it. But you must likewise acknowledge to me that the reason of my resolution in this, is not because I am ignorant of the danger, in that differing little or nothing from you, but to eschew a certain mischief, which, otherwise I must, according to my sense, undergo. You must also remember that you must conceal this until the action be over. And, in the meantime, assist me as heartily in it as if you fully concurred with me in opinion.

---

[1] Prince Rupert's Diary.

CHARLES R.

Oxford, April 10, 1646.

In fine, the King left Oxford[1] very privately, disguised as a servant, and attended only by Ashburnham, the worst companion he could have chosen, and Dr. Hudson, who was perhaps the best; a characteristic choice. His Majesty hesitated whether he should venture at once to London, or proceed, on Montreuil's pledge of an honourable reception, to the Scots at Newcastle. He chose the latter alternative; he threw himself on the honour and the chivalry of a gallant people; he was received as a prisoner, held in pawn, and sold for their miserable profit! Among civilized nations there is no parallel instance of such a perfidy; but his betrayers deeply expiated their crime when the purchasers of their King came soon afterwards to settle with them for the price of blood.

By the King's commands, the brave town of Newark was now surrendered to his captors; and soon afterwards an order was sent to such garrisons as still held out for the Royal cause, to desire them to make the best terms in their power with the conquerors.[1] There is here a long and mournful blank in the King's history. On the 17th of February in the following year, his Majesty once more found himself in a palace of his own: he was on that day a prisoner at Holdenby. The brief remainder of his career is thus narrated by one who long shared his wanderings.

---

[1] As soon as the Roundhead Parliament heard that the King had escaped from Oxford, they proclaimed that "any person who harboured or knew of the harbouring of the King, should forfeit his whole estate and die without mercy."—*Whitelocke.*

---

[1] The following was the notification to the Governors, signified through the Royal messenger :—

Hudson not having time, I desire you to advertise all the several loyal governors of my remaining towns and forts, that I wish them now to make their compositions upon the best terms they may, for the truth is I cannot relieve them ; but assure them, that as their sufferings is my greatest affliction, so whensoever God shall enable me they shall reap the fruits of their fidelity, nor shall grief ever go from my heart until I have shewed by my successful actions that I am to you all

A really constant friend,
CHARLES R.

Newcastle, 18th June, 1646.

I do hereby aver, and will be ready with my life to justify, as likewise upon the reputation, faith, and honour of a gentleman, Christian, and soldier, that the original of this letter was directed and brought to me, a prisoner in Newcastle, from and by a man of honour and trust, and accordingly let me be reputed by good and gallant men.

WILLIAM HUDSON.

Aberconway, July 1646.

CHARLES R.,

Whereas we have resolved to comply with the desires of our Parliament in everything which may be for the good of our subjects, and leave no means unassayed for removing all differing betwixt us ; therefore we have thought fit, the more to evidence the reality of our intentions of settling a happy and a firm peace, to authorise you, upon honourable conditions, to quit and surrender the castle of Denbigh intrusted to you by us, and to disband all the forces under your command, for which your so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at Newcastle, 14th September, 1646.

To our trusty and well-beloved Colonel
William Salisbury, Governor of our
Castle of Denbigh, in Wales.

Long had not his sacred Majesty continued there, but he was, by a part of the army under one Joyce, violently taken from thence, and brought to his honour of Hampton Court; where, for a while, he seemed to begin to reassume his pristine Majesty, being admitted to see and be seen. But Cromwell, fearing the frequency of so great resort might spoil his traitorous designs, with much serpentine craft and devilish subtilty, persuaded and insinuated into his Majesty's heart doubts and suspicions of mischief intended against him, the only way for preventing whereof he affirmed to be the withdrawing his person from thence to a place of more strength and security; and to that purpose nominated the Isle of Wight; to which place his Majesty, led by the innocency of his spotless conscience, was decoyed; and at his arrival found himself overreached, for he was immediately secured by Colonel Hammond, who then was governor in the said island, and kept a long time a prisoner there, in the Castle of Carisbrook; until afterwards, upon the petitions of most counties of England, a personal treaty was appointed to be held in the said isle, at Newport. For which end, Commissioners were sent thither with instructions, and the treaty begun and prosecuted with so good effect, that his Majesty's concessions at that time were voted by the Parliament a sufficient ground to proceed on, for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom. But here again his Majesty is violently and traitorously seized by the army then under Fairfax's command; by whom, December the 1st, 1648, he was brought to Hurst Castle, in Hampshire, and there kept as a prisoner till the 21st of the same month, when he was brought to Winchester; thence on the 23rd to Windsor, where for a little time he staid, attended by strong guards of soldiers, till about the 9th of January following, when they removed him towards London, and brought him to his own house at St. James's, and consequently to perfidious London; (Oh unfortunate monarch!) where, not long after, with hellish effrontery, even in despite of heaven, at noonday, before his own house, Whitehall, in the open street, with armed multitudes of soldiers, they sacrilegiously murdered that blessed, though unfortunate Prince, Charles the First.[1]

In returning to Prince Rupert, we find the principal events attending the surrender of Oxford have been mentioned in his Diary. On the 22nd of April, 1646, Fairfax sat down before the walls: on the 24th of June the city capitulated.[2] The Palatine Princes obtained special terms, in consideration of their valour and their rank: these were, that they should have leave to reside where they pleased in England for six months, provided they did not approach within twenty miles of London: they were to be attended by all their servants, with seventy horses, and all their property. As a Puritan journal asserted, however, they soon "broke the

---

[1] Iter Carolinum; Somers's Tracts. There was a struggle at first for truth and honour in the Parliament. The following brief extract may be new to some of my readers:—

About May 8 the works of Newark are "slighted." The House of Commons votes the King a prisoner to Warwick Castle. "The House of Lords storm; ask for a conference [with the Commons]; have it." Essex harangues, "that they were bound by their Covenant to defend the King's just rights; that they had fought hitherto to remove his evil counsellors; that the King had now left those counsellors; and that now nought remains but to disband the armies and make a peace. Rather than consent to make the King a prisoner [he spoke in the name of the Lords] they would all die in the place." "The Commons express themselves ashamed of last night's votes, and vote counter thereto."—*W. Sancroft to his Father; Tanner MSS.* 30.

[2] On Wednesday, the 24th of June, the citizens surrendered. the enemy marched out about twelve o'clock, being a very rainy day: a guard of our foot was appointed for them to march through, which extended in length from St. Clement's near Magdalen Bridge to Shotover Hill; the horse were drawn up into several bodies in other places. Those of the enemy who marched

---

out in a body, well armed, with colours flying and drums beating, were two thousand and upwards besides officers, who received no injury in their march through nor the least affront, which the governor, Sir Thomas Glenham, hath since acknowledged, much for the honour of the army. The forerunners of those that marched forth and the stragglers that came afterwards on the same day, being most of them horsemen and private persons engaged in the siege, were near five hundred men. There likewise marched forth this day, at the Northgate, all those that went to Yorkshire and Gloucestershire and those parts, who had a convoy for that purpose, being a considerable number. When Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice went forth on Monday, and those that followed them on Tuesday (when other gentlemen of quality left the city), there were in all about three hundred persons, most of them of good quality. Since we came into the town, it hath been the continual employment of some in making passes for those that were yet left behind, and not marched out of the town with the body, there having been above two thousand passes made out since we entered, of which there is a particular list of every man's name kept, there being many of them noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of quality, the rest officers and reformadoes, and some scholars. Likewise, since we came into the town, the three regiments of auxiliaries, consisting of two thousand men, have been disbanded, and their arms brought in. There are yet great numbers in the town, both officers and soldiers and strangers, that have not yet received their passes. Those that marched out upon Wednesday, about nine hundred of them laid down their arms when they came to Tame, and received passes to go to their several houses, and their arms were brought into Oxford; eleven hundred of them listed themselves for foreign service. We found in the magazine seventy barrels of powder; besides, they had two mills which supplied them daily articles to their own prejudice, and the kingdom's good, for now they must be gone."[1]

The King's cause was utterly lost; his bravest defenders slain, exiled, or imprisoned; the closing scene only procrastinated by the feuds among the conquerors. We shall return to England again to view that closing scene, and inquire after some of those who long and vainly strove to avert that stain from English history. We have now to accompany the adventurous Rupert into other regions, and to follow wanderings as little known, and as

---

with powder. There were in the town thirty-eight pieces of ordnance, whereof twenty-six were brass. For provisions of victuals I cannot give you a particular account, only this in general, that by what we found in the stores, and by what we are informed they had in the store before they sold it to the townsmen, during the treaty, to raise money to pay their soldiers, there was not less than six months' provisions. The soldiers were much discontented, and much ado there was to preserve the Lords, whom they accused for being the occasion of delivering up the town.* For the strength of the works about the town, they are such as, I think, any knowing man in martial affairs will say it was for your service the town was taken by conditions, especially considering what unseasonable weather hath followed; for if we had continued the siege but to this day, we should have been forced to have quit some of the leaguers already made, the fields being overflown with water. I have been with several of your acquaintance here in town, who were provided till Christmas with provisions, and do affirm, that for corn, beef, bacon, salt, butter, and cheese, there was plenty for the said time; fresh meat for the great ones being the only thing complained of as a want, and yet we found some store of that at the surrender.†

[1] Scots' Dove, July, 1646.

---

* Sir Thomas received some wounds in this riot, I find from a letter in Lord Denbigh's MSS.

† King's Pamphlets, 226, art. 9 (in the British Museum).

lands, from whence they sent to the Prince Elector, to advise with him what to do. But the House of Commons, taking advantage of their coming within twenty miles of London, notwithstanding the liberty granted them by General Fairfax so to do, declared, June 26th, that the two Princes, Rupert and Maurice, and their servants, by their coming to Oatlands, had broken the articles agreed upon concerning them, upon the surrender of Oxford; passing a vote also, that a command should be given from that House to the two Princes, Rupert and Maurice, and their servants, to repair to the seaside within ten days, and forthwith to depart the

---

of the articles agreed unto upon the surrender of Oxford as anyways concern them.

Given under my hand and seal the 19th day of June, 1646.
T. FAIRFAX.

To all officers and soldiers under my command,
or in the service of the Parliament.

Dr. Watts, Chaplain [probably compiler of the notes in this Diary.]
Dr. Erskin, Chaplain.
Mr. Cole, Chaplain.
Mr. Powell, Steward.
Mr. Mortaigne, Gentleman of the Horse [drowned by his devotion on board the Constant Reformation].
Mr. Kempson, Secretary.
Mr. Craven, Gent.
Mr. Whitford, Gent.
Mr. Townshend, Gent.
Mr. Trelawney, Gent.
Mr. Milhiser, Gent.
Mr. Thomas Daniell, Gent.
Mr. Skrimshawe, Gent.
Mr. Ellice Price, Gent.
Mr. La Roche } [Engineers who
Mr. De Gomez } accompanied the Prince to England in 1642].
Mr. Crodolph, Apothecary.
Mr. De Faust, } Grooms of the
Mr. Gallois, } Chamber.

[With fifty-one more, named in the pass: amongst others, a cook, a "yeoman of the stable, nine footmen, twelve grooms, a tailor, a gunsmith, a farrier, a laundress and her maid." This was no inconsiderable establishment for a Prince about to "seek his subsistence on the Continent."]

They are also to pass with eight carts and eight post-horses.

kingdom. And in pursuance of that vote, they ordered that the Serjeant at Arms attending the House, should forthwith, by one of his deputies, send the declaration aforesaid to the two Princes, Rupert and Maurice, concerning their breach of the articles agreed upon concerning them, upon the surrender of Oxford, together with the vote next above mentioned.[1] The Prince received this order upon the

---

[1] PRINCE RUPERT TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,

That I might the readier observe the order of the Parliament, I yesternight sent my letters to the Committee residing at Kingston, to give orders for four carts and ten post-horses, with their furniture, to be sent in to me to Oatlands this morning by nine o'clock. But this being denied me, I desire your pass and warrant for pressing of horses and carts as I go along, for which I promise to pay the due rates. This shall oblige

Your very loving friend,

RUPERT.

Oatlands, June 20, 1646.

Cary's Memorials of the Civil War, i. 118.

PRINCE RUPERT TO THE SPEAKER.

SIR,

It was this day, after dinner, ere I first received the pleasure of the honourable House of Commons, signified in a letter from Sir Richard Onslow and three other gentlemen, members of the House, concerning passes and warrants for accommodating me and my brother, with our servants, goods, and horses, on our way to Dover. I pray, sir, present to the honourable House my willingness to observe their order by all the speed I can possibly use; and withal, that in regard so many of the ten assigned days are already spent, and for that myself and brother have some servants behind at Worcester, whom we would not willingly leave behind us, I much desire there may be eight or ten more days allowed us. It will be to-morrow night at soonest before I can receive the House's pleasure concerning our passes, which I also desire may be taken into consideration.

I have here underset the names of our servants as yet at Worcester, for whose more speedy repair to us before we take shipping I desire you, sir, to give order they may have passes and other

27th, being Saturday, and on the Monday following he removed to Guildford, July 2nd to Reigate, the 3rd to Maidstone, and the 4th to Dover by post. The day following the Prince took shipping for Calais; Prince Maurice embarked upon the 8th in the Van Tromp for Holland; our Prince taking post for St. Germains, his train coming up to him there upon the 19th. At St. Germains the Prince found the Queen-mother and his Majesty that now is, and a reception from the Queen Regent of France, answerable to his quality and condition, there being many occasions presented her for the obliging of his Highness with several marks of her esteem. Our Prince was there particularly solicited to engage himself wholly in the French service, upon what conditions of preferment and advantage he himself could desire. But his Highness kept himself still upon this reserve, that he would save to himself a liberty of entering into the service of his Majesty of Great Britain, whensoever the state of his affairs would permit it.[1]

---

accommodation for the way. By these favours you will very much oblige

Your very loving friend,

Guildford, July 1, 1646. RUPERT.

Cary's Memorials of the Civil War, i. 121.

[1] The war that the French were at this time engaged in, was the tail of the storm of the Thirty Years' War. The Court of France now sought to control the over-reaching power of the Austrians, and with that object, Louis XIV. even encouraged the Protestant interest. For this reason, as well as on account of the old family feud, Rupert felt himself quite free to engage in the French service.

"Soon after this his Highness was made Mareschal de Camp, having a regiment of foot, a troop of horse, and the command of all the English in France.[1]

---

[1] Prince Rupert writes at this time thus to our old friend Sir John Owen.

SIR,

I have taken this opportunity of Colonel Donnell's coming into your country to make his levies, to invite you into the King of France's service, where I have taken conditions to command all the English, and should be glad that you would raise men for his service, the particular condition you will receive from Colonel Donnell, which are much better than other Princes give. And if you shall resolve to send over any men upon them, I desire I may have speedy notice thereof, that I may give you all the assistance possible I can, but you need not have your commission until you bring over your men, which I shall then get for you, so, desiring notice of your intention, I rest

Your friend,
RUPERT.*

Paris, 10th April, 1647.

This letter is preserved by Sir John Owen's worthy descendant: from a very different source I derive the following extract, and a few pages later, in the Prince's own papers, I find a corresponding result. This is a curious dovetailing of remote papers into one another. The Prince appears to have sent letters in blank, (at the same time that he wrote to Sir John) as follows, to be filled up by trustworthy Cavaliers.

A LETTER FROM PRINCE RUPERT TO ——.

Prince Rupert, &c., invites —— to enter the service of the King of France, being by him appointed to the command of all the English who are in or shall enter that kingdom. Refers for particulars to Colonel Donnell, who is making levies in England. Engages to see the conditions on which he shall enter the King of France's service performed towards himself and any he may engage in it.†

Paris, April, 1647.

* From Mr. Ormsby Gore's MSS.

† Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 532.

"The next summer, in 1647, the Spaniards sitting down before Armentiers, the Cardinal gave his orders for the relief of the place, and upon Gassion's undertaking for the enterprise, directed the Prince to go to him with some troops of succour. Upon the Prince coming up to Gassion, 'Monsieur,' dit il, 'vous verrez ici une belle action demain,'—'You will see here,' says he, 'a brave action to-morrow.' The enemy before the town were twenty thousand, and the two Mareschals, Gassion and Rauzau, made but seven thousand together, and no very good intelligence betwixt them neither; but the Cardinal, however, had ordered Rauzau to assist Gassion in the enterprise.

"The Prince came up to them at night, and Gassion went the day following to take a view of the enemy's line on the other side of the river, taking the Prince along with him. They advanced under the protection of certain hedges, within a little distance of the river side, where Gassion spoke to the Prince to stay behind till he called, and the Prince, with two others, staid behind there accordingly. The Mareschal Gassion was got up to a little house upon the side of the river, like a ferry-house, and the Prince in the mean time heard the stroke of an oar, as if a boat were rowing over the river, but he durst not give Gassion any notice of it for fear of being overheard, and discovering him to the enemy. The Mareschal staid there till the people out of the boat were landed, who sent one before them to see if the house were clear; but as Gassion was peeping at the army from behind the house one way, this discoverer was just upon the back of him at the other end of the house. But Gassion, however, being a man of a ready wit, set a good face on it, and gave the soldier a rebuke, as if he had been one of the Spanish officers, 'Que fais tu là? va t'en à ton quartier.'—'What the devil do you here,' says he; 'get you gone to your quarter.' This confidence put the soldier to a pause, who seeing him in a Spanish coat took him for an officer of his own party. The Mareschal upon this stop of the soldier, very fairly betook himself to his heels, and ran for it, to recover the hedge, with the enemy's firelocks after him; but with much ado, and in very great disorder, he got over a ditch, and the Prince coming up to him to bring him off, 'Mort Dieu,' dit il, 'ce m'arrive toujours,'—'Death,' says he, 'this is always my luck.' To which the Prince replied, 'Je n'en doute point, si vous faites comme cela souvent,'—'I make no doubt of it, so long as you go this way to work.' After this, their horses were brought up to them and carried them off to their quarters.

"On the day following, the French drew out towards the camp of the enemy, on the other side of the river where the passage was clear, with a pretence to fall upon their line; and then Gassion, to bring himself the better off, called a council of war. Rauzau asking the Prince what that mad man Gassion intended to do, there being no possibility for the horse to do any good, by reason of the enclosures. His Highness's opinion being asked at the Council of war, he delivered himself, that if the French were no stronger than he took them to be, he did not think it advisable with that force to attack the enemy, which was the general opinion, also of the Council; and so they marched off without making any attempt.

"From thence they went to Arras, whither Picolomini came to view their quarters, his army being near, and it was upon a dyke. The Prince spied their troops, and Gassion left his horse at a small redoubt they had made, with twenty-five horse, which put a Dutch officer there into some admiration. The enemy's horse came down to charge the Prince, but he repulsed them again and again, and so made his retreat. Gassion desiring him to stay as long as he could there, the Prince sent him word 'that it was not his day of command;' and so came his way, resenting, as well became him, this ill-usage of Gassion, which was taken notice of by a check and reproach from the Court, asking him 'whether he was a general or a Croat.'

"In this interim the Spaniards took in Armentiers, and marched towards La Basse, a Spanish garrison; the French army marching side by side along with them. Gassion being desirous to see the enemy's march, made a halt, and asked the Prince, 'Are you well mounted, sir? shall we go see the army?' The Prince agreed to it, and Rauzau staid behind, so the

Prince, with Gassion, and three or four more went up, and meeting two or three Croats, Gassion pressed upon them, and they ran away; but upon a pursuit, there started out an ambush of eleven more from behind a hillock, and a good troop of horse following them to cut off the Prince's and Gassion's retreat, they got over a little slough, and then Sir Robert Holmes, Mr. Mortaigne, and several other volunteers that were left behind, came up to their succour, the enemy endeavouring to pass a little river that was betwixt them, three or four of them were got over, but beaten back again by Mr. Mortaigne, Gentleman of the Horse, and Sir Robert Holmes, who was then Page to his Highness, together with some volunteers whom Gassion had employed to beat them over. Sir Robert Holmes's leg was shot in pieces just below the knee, and his horse killed under him where he lay upon the place, and Mortaigne also was shot in the hand. Sir Robert Holmes being left alone upon the ground, and the enemy firing hard from the other side of the river, his Highness seeing that nobody would engage to bring him off, with a generosity peculiar to himself, went himself, with Mortaigne (who, by reason of his wound in the hand, could give him but little assistance), took him up behind him with great danger and difficulty, and so carried him off; not a man of the French volunteers coming in to his assistance. The French then retreated, the enemy following them with their Croats, but they made their retreat in a body, and so drew off entire, and in a posture to defend themselves in case of an attack.

The Spaniards upon this drew off too, and went and sat down before Landrecy, whereupon orders came for the French to go directly thither to relieve it. They drew over the river within musket shot of the line, with a design to fall upon the line, as it was understood by the army. There passed some skirmishes, but the French troops drew off again without any further engagement. While this past, Mareschal d'Aumont made an attempt according to order and instructions from Court, to put in a relief of one or two thousand men into the town by another way, but the guide misleading, that project was lost. The Prince was here left with three regiments of German horse, and one of Croats, to make good the retreat; whereupon the Spaniards drew out six thousand of their best men, with their Croats and some regiments of horse to follow him, the French army being drawn off before, and some of their cannon laid fast in the mire. The Prince having got over the first pass, a regiment of the enemy's horse passed over after him, but his Highness beat them off, after which the whole body of the enemy advanced upon him, but he still made good the retreat. Here Gassion came up to the Prince and told him the cannon were a second time bemired, and asked him what he thought of it. So the Prince desired that the regiment of guards, Picardy, and the Switzers might come back, and with them he would undertake to make good the retreat, and bring off the cannon, which Gassion was in doubt whether he should leave behind him or no. Upon this he presently gave orders, but advised to draw off the foot first; which the Prince was utterly against, and drew off first the horse, and then the foot, without the loss of a man.

After this, when the Prince thought to have lain down and refreshed himself, there came an order for the French to march away directly towards La Basse, and so the horse made what haste they could to invest it, leaving the foot to come after. The same night that the horse had invested it, there came a relief of three or four hundred men, most of them of the Lord Goring's and Colonel Gage's troops that happened to fall just in with his Highness's guards: they were all taken, and most of them being English, took conditions in the Prince's regiment.[1] By this time the foot were come up, and then they fell to entrenching and began the siege. The very first night the Prince ran a line of six hundred yards, and within a matter of three weeks they came to a parley at the Prince's quarter, and the town was delivered without anything remarkable that passed upon that action, saving only that Gassion did manifestly envy the Prince the honour

---

[2] Hence it would seem that many of the Cavaliers had assumed the habits of the old *Condottieri*, and let out their swords (or *gagnepains*) to the best bidder. Goring had been refused a commission in the English corps.

of taking it, not having allowed him so much as fossing for the facilitating of the work.

A little before the taking of the town the Duke of Lorraine drew up his horse to face the intrenchment, as if the Spanish army had a design to attack the French camp, where he lost above three hundred horse, having fourteen pieces of cannon playing upon him; but an allowance also by agreement of three hundred guilders a horse for every horse he lost.

After the taking of La Basse, the French marched directly to surprise Lens, where they immediately lodged themselves in the out-works, and in all probability, if the Picard regiment had but had orders to have pushed for the place, they might have got possession of the ports. This passed in the morning, and at night, his Highness having the guard, there were miners clapt on upon the main works, where seven or eight of them were presently knocked on the head. The Prince at last fixed one of them to the works, but the very next morning, before they could make any further progress, the Spanish army appeared, and the French were commanded to draw off, so they returned again to La Basse to their quarters.

Being at La Basse, Gassion invites the Prince one day to take the air, and his Highness was pleased to bear him company; but his business, it seems, was to carry him to Eysters, to talk with his bailiff about oats and hay, and other country affairs. He took some fourscore horse of the guards along with him. This being taken notice of by a certain boor, the fellow ran presently to Armentiers and fetched a party of about one hundred firelocks to try to intercept them in their return. As they came back, the Prince discovered a dog sitting upon his breech, with his face towards the wood, whereupon his Highness gave Sir William Reeves, who was then his page, his cloak, and riding through the party up to Gassion, who was about forty yards in the head of them, with some officers about him, "Have a care, sir," says the Prince, "there is a party in the wood." The word was no sooner spoken but they had a salvo from the enemy's ambush, both before and behind, so that they were forced to break through the fire. Sir William Reeves, with some others, being taken prisoners, the Governor of Armentiers very civilly returned him again. So soon as they had broken through, Gassion faced about towards the enemy, "Mort Dieu," says he, "il faut rompre le col à ces coquins là,—let us break the necks of these rogues;" and then taking his foot out of the stirrup, "pied à terre," says he. The Prince with some few officers understood it that he was alighting, and that the whole party should do the like, and so fall in upon the ambush with sword and pistol. The Prince and some officers dismounted, but Gassion, in the mean time, marched away with the horses, the enemy following his Highness, and the officers with him, on foot. His Highness here received a shot in the head, from whence he returned to La Basse, and so to Bethune to be cured, from whence, after his recovery, his Highness went into France, where he passed his next winter, with as much satisfaction as the tenderness he felt for the state of his Royal uncle's affairs would permit.[1]

---

[1] I find several letters from the Cavaliers to Prince Rupert about this time, consisting for the most part of details relating to their surrenders. The following letter from Edinburgh contains some news:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

The resolutions of this Parliament hath been long interrupted by Argyll and his corrupt associates, and by the seditious preachers, who daily do throw in new difficulties to hinder the raising of an army, but all in vain; for the colonels are nominated in Parliament, and the inferior officers are left to the election of the colonels and the committees of the several shires. According to the account of the Parliament, the army will consist of thirty thousand: the rendezvous is appointed, the 24th of this month, on this side the river Tay. The levy of the army is so willingly undertaken by the nobility and the gentry, that I am confident it will be more numerous and choicer men than any that hath been raised this many ages from this. Berwick and Carlisle are again possessed by the Cavaliers, Sir Marmaduke Langdale being in Berwick, and Sir Philip Musgrave in Carlisle. The declaration emitted by the Parliament may dissatisfy the King's party, but there was a present necessity to couch it in that strain. Ere long I am confident that things will be more clearly understood, to the full satisfaction of all that wish well or do suffer for his Majesty. I could have wished your Highness the immediate command under the Prince of Wales, but the present condition of affairs will not allow it, your Highness and Prince Maurice remaining still excepted by both Parliaments. I am confident that it will be easy to take the sense-rate of this Parliament against you two, by the means of the Duke of Hamilton, his brother Lanerick, and their friends, but this present time is most unfit for any such motion. I find a civil and kind inclination in both the brothers to serve your Highness, and give me leave to wish that there were a friendly understanding betwixt you. I know that the malice of many of the English are great against you, particularly the Marquis of Hereford: what course is to be taken to purge the angry humours of the English I know not, but here the two brothers most do your business. It is my duty to represent the truth of things to your Highness's consideration, being passionately desirous to be instrumental and active in anything conducing to

It must not be omitted that Gassion staying for the Prince after he had received his wound, his Highness recovered the party; and as they were upon their march; "Monsieur," says Gassion to the Prince, "je suis bien fasché que vous estes blessé,"—"sir, it troubles me that you are wounded." "Et moi aussi," says the Prince,—"and truly so does it me too." After this Gassion went to besiege Lens, where he was killed by a musket-shot in the head.[1]

So soon as the Prince had paid his compliments to the French Court, he went from Paris to St. Germains, where his Highness the Prince of Wales,

---

the good of your service. The reality of this truth shall appear when your Highness is pleased to honour with your commands your Highness's Most humble and faithful servant,

W. B.

Edinburgh, 4th May, 1647. [Sir William Bellenden ?]

For his Highness Prince Rupert, these.

[1] The following note of the Prince's musters may have interest:—

Estat des regiments Anglois qui sont à present au service du Roi, et du nombre de compagnies dont ils sont composez :—

	Comps.		Hommes.
A Lens, Regiment de Rokeby	10	faisans	675
...neufbourg ou aux faubourg de Caen, Sandys	11	„	304
Idem, Vagstaffe a este licentié et les hommes joints au regiment de Sandys.			
Idem, Tillier	2	„	118
A Kesdin, Holles	1	„	60
Weré licentié les hommes joints à la compagnie de Holles.			
Venant, Hawkins	3	„	150
„ Lunsford	1	„	65
Nombre total	28		1372

Fait à Paris le 20 Jan. 1647.

Regiments Anglois estans au servire du Roi.

and the chief of the exiled Royalists then resided; soon after his arrival there, he received a very affectionate letter from his Majesty, then a prisoner at Hampton Court, which in respect both of the kindness, and the occasion of it, we shall here insert:—

NEPHEW,

Amongst many misfortunes, which are not my fault, one is, that you have missed those expressions of kindness I meant you, which, I believe, was occasioned by your being in the army. It being likewise the reason that made me write so few letters to you. Besides, the truth is, as my condition is yet, I cannot say anything to you as I would; not being able to second words in the deeds. Wherefore excuse me if I only say this to you now, that, since I saw you, all your actions have more than confirmed the good opinion I have of you. Assuring you that, next my children (I say next) I shall have most care of you, and shall take the first opportunity either to employ you or have your company. And, be confident that this shall be really performed by

Your most loving Uncle, and constant faithful Friend,
Hampton Court, Sept. $\frac{17}{27}$, 1647. CHARLES R.

P.S.—I heard not of your hurt[1] before I was assured of your recovery; for which nobody, without compliment, is gladder than myself. For the particular state of my affairs, I have desired the Duke of Richmond to give you an account.[2]

The people of England were at this time generally well-disposed toward the deliverance of their Sovereign and themselves out of the hands of their oppressors; and among other loyal and resolute attempts for the accomplishment of these honourable ends, the commotion in Kent, in May, 1648, was not the least considerable, either for itself, or for the consequences of it; for it was that encouragement chiefly that brought over a great part of the rebel fleet, which their master had set out for their summer guard, to their allegiance, and if they had taken their course directly for the Isle of Wight, as was earnestly pressed, when by a fatality of other counsels they went over for Holland, the King's life had probably been spared, and most of those other dismal calamities prevented, that ensued upon the miscarriage.

---

[1] Received when deserted by Gassion

[2] This letter, unfortunately, is not to be found among the Prince's MSS.

Upon their arrival in Holland, the news of it being brought to the Prince of Wales, who was then at St. Germains, it was advised in council that his Highness should repair to the Hague; whither he went accordingly, so soon as ever he could get himself supplied with a small sum of money for the advancing of his design; which with much difficulty and delay he did at length obtain; and the Princes, with many of the English nobility, June 29th, 1648, began their journey from Paris toward the Low countries; several others following them also (July 24th) as the Lord Witherington, Lord Bellasis, Lord Hawley, &c., who went first to the Hague, and from thence, in the "Satisfaction" frigate into the Downs; where the two Princes were then on board the fleet. His Highness Prince Rupert having been plied over again with the repeated offer of any conditions in the French service, before his going for Holland.

The seamen in the fleet being mutinous through the scarcity of provisions and want of employment, a good part of them, after shewing themselves in Yarmouth Road, upon another design, at their own importunity, landed August 14th, to seize a small fort near Deal, in Kent, from whence by a party of horse they were beaten off with loss, Sir John Boys taken prisoner by the rebels, and Captain Beckman, principal engineer, slain upon the place. Upon this repulse disorders and discontents increasing in the fleet, and all disadvantages being artificially improved, it was thought the best way to return for Holland.

Batten[1] and Jordan came to the King in the Downs, in the "Constant Warwick," Batten giving assurance of provisions from London, but put off so long that the fleet was distressed for want of provisions, and none from London at last: they were divided what course to steer; some were for relieving Colchester, which was at that time besieged.

Batten was to have the ships go to the frith, in Scotland.

The Prince Rupert upon the return of the fleet propounded the sending of some forces to the Isle of Wight, to deliver the King; but the seamen were generally for going into the river to take the colliers' fleet in their return, and sink the boats in the Medway, that the fleet might not get out.

---

[1] The villain who fired on the Queen.

Several prizes were seized in the Downs, and while the fleet was there, came the news of Hamilton's defeat [at Preston].

The Duke of Lorraine offered forces upon the security of Jersey and Guernsey.

Sailing for the King's channel, so soon as they were open of it, the King, (then Prince of Wales,) was prevailed upon to stand away for Holland. As he was bearing up to stand his course, some of the ships followed to the King; but the resolution was so much disliked by the seamen, that the Swallow, (the Rear-Admiral,) in which the King's council was, stood away for the river; when by Providence comes a little bark that had stood before the fleet into the river, and gave intelligence that the Lord of Warwick's ships were rowing out of the river to follow them. Upon which they all agreed, and the King resolved to stand against the Earl of Warwick, and to fight him; so that every ship made ready to engage. They turned up the river, the tide serving, and overtook the enemy about Lee-road, who made what way they could from them; and just upon the point of coming to an engagement, there rose a sudden blast of wind that forced both fleets to an anchor.[1] Hereupon the Prince of Wales sent a summons to the Earl of Warwick, by Mr. Henry

---

[1] "In September, 1648, my husband was commanded by the Prince to wait on him in the Downs, where he was with the fleet;

Seymour of the Bed-chamber, and received an answer as follows. [The answer not given].

The next day finding that they could not force the other fleet to fight, they resolved for Holland. Just as they were setting sail, there was a boat gave them advice that they saw some ships, which they believed to be the Portsmouth fleet, standing into the river; but this would not be credited. At night, the Prince standing upon the deck, in the Constant Reformation, the Master of the ship, one Pattison, called out to his Highness that he saw a light, and asked what he should do. The Prince[1] told him that he judged it to be the Portsmouth fleet, and Pattison too (with the rest of the seamen) were of the same opinion. Whereupon the Prince advised to steer towards them, which was done accordingly; but as they were upon their course, Batten spake to the King, "Sir," says he, "whither do we steer? will your Majesty have him run out of the way for every collier that he sees?" The Swallow and two or three other ships more, steered with the Portsmouth fleet, and hailed them. They answered them, yea, yea; being then at an anchor waiting for

---

but the fleet was divided, part being for the King, and part for the Parliament. They were resolved to fight that day, which, if they had, would have been the most cruel fight England ever knew; but God, by his will, parted them by a storm; and afterwards it was said that Lord Colepepper, and one Low, a surgeon, that was a reputed knave, so ordered the business, that for money the fleet was betrayed to the enemy."—*Lady Fanshaw's Memoirs.*

[1] *i. e.* Rupert, who is always to be understood as *the* Prince, although the Prince of Wales was also in the fleet.

the tide to carry them into the river. But the King steering his course for Holland, the rest followed; and this was the loss of the Portsmouth fleet, which would have furnished the King's with provisions, and might have been had for the asking. The whole fleet of the King's went into Goree road, and there fell to revictualling; his Highness going away with the King for the Hague, where he arrived the 4th of September, and after a short stay returned again to the fleet.

The business was now, who should first get the possession of the harbour; the Constant Reformation was nearest, but Warwick sent a good sailing frigate to get in before, so the Prince's boat and the other rowed *à vi* for the harbour; theirs being nearest, got ashore first. Captain Allen being then on shore, and appearing to be their friend, called for the rope to make it fast, but as the boat was putting off again he let slip the rope, and back went the frigate, so that his Highness got first possession. After which, they hauled in all the ships except the Convertine, which, at the next spring tide, they got in too. After this, Moulton, one of Warwick's principal officers, came aboard the Prince, and asked his Highness if he would give him leave to speak with some of the seamen. The Prince told him yes, in his hearing; but if he spake anything amiss, he would throw him overboard. His Highness, however, clapped him up, but at the desire of the States released him again.

Before the Convertine could be got in, the enemy had a design to take possession of her; which being discovered, his Highness privately slipped in as many officers as he could, to secure her; where they lay upon their bellies, having only stones and pikes to defend themselves; for they were resolved not to make any shot, unless the enemy began the fray. But in the mean time, a boy from their main top, being come very near her, discovered the men lying on their bellies, and so they quitted that design; the frigate sheering off again. About this time, the following letter arrives from Montrose. His brilliant career has been checked in his own country, but his gallant heart still yearns for action. Such praise as follows, from such a writer, is not to be lightly esteemed:—

SIR,

Your Highness may justly think strange what should embolden me to this freedom, never having done myself the honour to have used the like heretofore, nor being favoured with your commands now to do it. But when your Highness shall be pleased to know, that I was ever a silent admirer of you, and a passionate affecter of your person, and all your ways, you will be pleased to allow me recourse to your goodness and generosity, and the rather that your Highness's, I am for the present at such distance, with all interests as no end but naked respect can now prompt me to it; which if your Highness shall do me the honour to take in good part, and command me to continue, I shall hope, it will not wrong the King, your uncle's service, nor what may touch your Highness, both in relation to those and their points, in either whereof I should presume to be able to do you some small service, so hoping your Highness will pardon this boldness, and take it from the true fountain, I shall only say, that I desire to be ever,

Sir, your Highness's most humble, faithful,
affectionate servant, MONTROSE.[1]
Brussels, 7th Sept. 1648.

While this passed, and after several debates in council, how to dispose of and manage the business of the fleet; his Highness Prince Rupert was desired to take it into his care, till they might come to a more regular conclusion upon the settlement of that affair; which the Prince did readily take upon him, although an undertaking at that time of so desperate an appearance, that his nearest friends dissuaded him from it. But still, his invincible courage, and the passionate zeal and affection which he had ever expressed for the interests of his Majesty of Great Britain, surmounted all difficulties, and prevailed upon him to engage in an enterprize that no other person would meddle with.

[Cotemporaneously with the following naval history, but apparently unknown to the writer of it, I find a voluminous and strangely heterogeneous correspondence, from kings, courtiers, captains, merchants, and contractors. This correspondence would be full of interest to any person engaged in writing the naval history of the period, but I find myself obliged to glean very sparingly from the store. At this late period of my work, I wish to introduce as little matter as possible that does not belong strictly to narration. Selection with this view becomes very difficult; and I must trust to the reader's indulgence if such letters have been omitted as might have proved more interesting than those that are introduced. I have endeavoured to give in the following remarks some of the information derivable from some hundred documents.]

---

[1] INSTRUCTIONS TO COLONEL ROBERT BLAKE, GENERAL OF THE FIRST FLEET THAT IS GONE TO THE SOUTHWARD.

You shall remonstrate to the King of Portugal, that the fleet commanded by Prince Rupert, now in his port, are not of a nature capable of neutrality, for they were a part of the navy of England in the real and actual possession of the Parliament; from which service the mariners perfidiously apostatized, and as renegadoes have run away with the said ships, wherewith as pirates and sea-robbers they have made depredations. You are to destroy these ships wherever you find them. If the King will not see you justified, we refer you to our former authority.

The naval expedition, undertaken by Prince Rupert in the autumn of 1648, is of a nature without any parallel in history. We must look back to the days of the Scandinavian Sea-Kings for even a resemblance to Rupert's present mission. His was a spirit cast in the old Northern heroic mould; resolute, indomitable, adventurous, and dauntless. He was one who could

> "Turn what some deem danger to delight,
> And for itself could woo the approaching fight."

He lived in a romantic world of his own, notwithstanding the dismal realities of his position: the petty intrigues of the young King's petty Court; the perpetual mutinies of his own dissolute sailors;

the humiliating efforts to raise money; the mercenary considerations that prompted almost every exploit; even the details of captive cargoes, the forced sales of "sugars, and indigo, and hides," not one, nor all, of these things, could bring down his soaring spirit for more than a moment to their own level. From the time that he first trod the deck of his gallant ship, he assumed the bearing and the tone, as well as the habits, of the ancient Vikingr. In the commission that he received, he was invested with "all the command at sea that he had held formerly on shore:" that is to say, he was absolute. To gratify the official people about the exiled Court, the young Viking received what were termed "Instructions," but those instructions were dictated according to his own resolute will, and were binding no longer upon him than he chose. Nor was this power to be wondered at: who else, in the midst of such a storm of misfortune, would or could have undertaken a post of such difficulty and danger? Who else could have borne the Royal Standard in such a career as his, without dishonour to it? Rupert was destined to maintain the *name* of Royal England on the seas, and to contend with his mighty enemies not only for their naval supremacy but their wealth. This last was the first great object of the Prince's cruise; the Prince of Wales and all his Court were almost famishing in their exile; they looked to Rupert's squadron to supply them with the very necessaries of life. But for this consideration, the extraordinary squadron we are about to sail with, would never have been fitted out.[1] And while Ormond anxiously expected Rupert to enable him to reconquer Ireland, the courtiers' first anxiety was, that his Highness should enable them to obtain their bread. The naval speculation was perfectly successful in this point of view. The King being persecuted by every one, proved a source of great profit to the Royal Buccaneers. There was scarcely any flag that had power to protect its owner. Wherever a ship was seen she was pursued, wherever pursued she was taken, and the remaining process was wonderfully simplified by the nature of the "Court of Adjudication." This high-sounding tribunal seems frequently only to have comprised the officer of the watch; at other times it amounted to a court-martial of the beggared and rapacious Cavaliers. A sail in sight and a well-secured prize, soon became synonimous. There was something very attractive in this sort of adventure, and it required all the native characteristics of gentlemen to prevent the sea-going Cavaliers from carrying their buccaneering to excess. But it was *not* carried to excess; at least all was done fairly and above board, as to an enemy; no cruelty was practised; fair terms were offered and honourably kept towards the victims of this predatory war.

---

[1] There was a party against the Prince in England as well as in the exiled Court. A man called Bamfield writes from London in the summer of 1648, to say that the Presbyterian party in England desire very much to support the King; that they can only do so by promoting peace, and that "Rupert's very name hath a sound of war in it, and therefore it is hoped he may not be employed." Bamfield adds: "If Lady Carlisle [still in confidence !] and Mr. Denham constitute the Presbyterian party, then your Highness's name is obnoxious, but I do not believe it." He proved to be a traitor, and a spy of Cromwell's.

Some of the difficulties attending the getting up of this speculation are detailed in the MS.: money and men, the first requisites in fitting out a fleet, were both wanting; the latter were in great request, and ill disciplined and mutinous even when procured. Their pay was not low; 24*s.* a-month, with food and clothes, afforded a comfortable subsistence in those days.[1]

The Royal cause was now at sea; the whole Cavalier system was transferred at once from military into naval details: generals became admirals; colonels, captains; soldiers, marines; garrisons became ships'-crews; intrigues and cabals were transferred from Merton and Oriel Colleges[2] to the Hague and the Royal fleet. The statesmen of the Royal party were the most out of their element. They assumed something of a mercantile and appraising character; and it is curious to find Hyde,

---

[1] I find by the contractor's estimates for provisions the following prices: cheese 5*d.* per lb., butter 4*d.* per lb., peas 63*s.* the bushel, sea-bread about 1*d.* per lb.; 1 lb. of bread, ½ lb. of cheese, and ¼ lb. of butter, was allowed to each man per diem.—*Prince Rupert's Correspondence.* Sword-belts, it seems, cost about 7*s.* 6*d.* each.—*Lord Denbigh's MS.*

[2] The Queen and many of her ladies resided at Merton College, during her stay at Oxford; the Privy Council was held at Oriel; the King and Prince Rupert had their quarters at Christchurch.

Culpepper, and others, discussing with as much zest the price of sugars, indigo, and "jacoletto," as in our first volume they speculated on subsidies and fifteenths, and the fatal ship-money.

Through the mass of his naval correspondence we may trace a very curious texture of warlike and commercial interests. The latter, however, is always subservient to the former. If new guns for the Antelope, or the Honest Seaman are required, hides, or, peradventure, elephants' teeth, are to be exchanged for them: if the exiled King of England prevails on some merchant to cash a bill for him, it is always drawn upon Prince Rupert; and a frigate is despatched for means to honour it. If the Palatine's men become more mutinous than usual, from want of pay, he sends them out to catch a ship for themselves, the first that heaves in sight; they are seldom particular about the flag. And in this marvellous manner, the Palatine leads his squadrons for four long years through fleets of the angry enemy, with a Blake at their head; not only receiving no money from the King, but supporting him and his needy courtiers by his formidable industry. He who shall hereafter write Prince Rupert's life, unencumbered by the responsibility of formal old MSS., will make a stirring tale of his adventures. When the fragile but fearless fleet of the young Palatine roved at large over England's own watery realm—the wide sea: now sheltering under the lee of stormy Ireland; with Scotch

Puritans, and Romish rebels, and Irish raparees watching for him on the shore, and the Parliament's stout fleet lying in wait for him at sea. Now breaking away into the Western ocean, capturing rich galleons on the Spanish main, or trafficking the gems and ivory of the South, for the wines of Portugal and the powder that was to win yet more; now pursued by all powerful fleets as a fugitive, and now received in foreign kingdoms as a conqueror. I now resume the Prince's narrative:—

"Upon his application to this work, he found the fleet in a mutinous and distracted condition; the enemy then riding at the harbour's mouth, the very seamen acknowledging what temptations they had both by the flatteries and moneys from several of Warwick's agents that were dispersed there ashore, expressly to debauch them from their duties, and make them desert their service; insomuch that divers of the officers themselves were upon strong presumptions suspected of an intent to slip their cables in the night, and so fall down with the tide of ebb into the enemy's fleet. But then a squadron of Dutch ships came into the road, and anchored betwixt the two fleets; prohibiting all acts of hostility in that place, and declaring that in case of any violence they would join against the aggressor.

"Several weeks they continued in this posture, facing of one another, but the Prince having entertained a resolute number of exiled gentlemen and soldiers that had served his Majesty in the late war, he disposed them proportionably into the several ships; by which means the fickle and licentious seamen were kept in some sort of awe and obedience.

The Prince has written to Montrose such a reply as that kindred spirit might have expected; he now received the following rejoinder:—

THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE TO PRINCE RUPERT.

SIR,

Your Highness's noble and generous expressions do not only give me all subject most humbly to acknowledge such gallant civilities, but also embolden me, grounded upon your Highness's allowance, to presume to entertain myself with the honour and happiness of so much wished favour, humbly entreating your Highness to do me the justice to believe, that as it was still my secret and most predominant passion, to witness myself the faithfulest of all your servants, rather in order to his Majesty's affairs, in which I may appear so very little useful, or that of your Highness own particular, so shall it be still my greatest ambition, without affectation at all, for your Highness's worth and merit, and the strong inclinations I harbour to serve it, to avow myself ever against all oppositions,

Sir, your Highness's most humble, faithful,
affectionate servant, MONTROSE.]

Brussels, 7th Oct. 1648.

Such was the industry and address of our Prince in all these extremities, that the Prince of Wales himself had often acknowledged that the fleet had been brought to nothing without it. There was a distemper, it is true, in the Antelope, a second-rate ship, which was much more dangerous than all the rest, and it began upon a complaint about victuals. His Highness telling them that such as did not like the service might be gone, for he could find men enough to sail in the King's ships without them; they stood muttering, without giving any particular answer.

"It must be here observed, that toward Michaelmas his Highness caused all the ships to be unrigged, for the preventing of embezzlement and disorder, and in expectation of the frost, which must certainly force the Parliament fleet to quit the road. But Michaelmas being past, the Prince got his fleet in readiness, intending for Ireland, according to his orders, so soon as he was rid of Warwick's neighbourhood; which now was expected would be very quickly, his provisions having grown very low. But contrary to expectation, the rebels' whole fleet (for their money) was plentifully supplied with all necessaries from Rotterdam: and which was yet worse, the Dutch squadron about the 5th of November, quitted the place; leaving the port to defend its own privileges, and both fleets to their good behaviour, but yet before they went they endeavoured to satisfy his Highness by telling him that Warwick had engaged his honour not to violate the law of nations, and that the States would declare themselves enemies to the assailant.

"At the time when the Prince was giving orders for the rigging of the fleet, he sent to the Antelope for twenty of their best men to help rig the Admiral: but they plainly refusing to come, his Highness went on board himself, with some half-a-score resolute gentlemen, and called positively for twenty of their best foremast men, and walked upon the deck to see his commands obeyed; when the seamen, instead of complying, gathered about his Highness, and one bold fellow among the rest cried out "one and all," upon which the Prince immediately caught him in his arms and held him overboard, as if he would have thrown him into the sea. The suddenness of this action wrought such a terror upon the rest, that they returned forthwith to their duty.

"After the departure of the States' fleet, the Earl of Warwick entered the harbour with his, and anchored within musket shot of the Prince, but without any exhibition of hostility than words of contumely and reproach. Both parties met ashore, also, promiscuously, where they had their brawls and drinking bouts, insomuch that Warwick's party complained to the States of violence and injuries that were offered them by the other; and there was care taken to see that if they did quarrel, there should be fair play.

"Immediately upon Warwick's entering the harbour, the Prince dispatched a gentleman with letters to his Highness the Prince of Wales, with orders to return with all possible speed, who arriving at the Hague, found the Prince sick of the small-pox; but Mr. Progers, one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber, did, notwithstanding, forthwith present the letters and the bearer of them to his Highness, and he was dispatched away the same night, getting back again by the next morning to Helvoet-Sluys, where he found affairs not a little altered.

"The Prince with the Constant Reformation, Convertine, Antelope, Swallow, and four frigates, were got up to the quay, the Convertine lying athwart, with her starboard side to the enemy's. Upon the tree-heads the Prince had raised batteries, and planted several pieces of cannon, which he took out of the ships. The remainder of the fleet was revolted to the Earl of Warwick, and being under his protection, invited their fellows to follow the example, which many of them were willing and ready enough to do, but prevented by the care and vigilance of the Prince, who, with three hundred landsmen which he had lately entertained, so manned the Convertine and the batteries, that the seamen had it not in their power to go over to the enemy, nor could they, without much danger, attempt it. In this condition a great part of the winter was spent, and, in short, many of the seamen deserted the service, and went overland to the rebels.

"His Highness having planted guns upon the harbour for the security of his fleet, the States took notice of several complaints for fortifying the harbour, and for many disorders that were committed among the seamen. The Prince returned answer that, if the States would account for the protection of the fleet, his Highness would depend upon it;

but, otherwise, having taken charge of the fleet by his Majesty's commission, he was resolved to protect it as well as he could; and as to any disorders committed ashore, his Highness wished them to send an officer to take some course to prevent it, for that their harbours were as free to his men as to the others; beside that, the King's men had the first possession of it.

"Upon the 21st of November the Earl of Warwick set sail, and departed for England, and his Highness presently hastened away to the Prince of Wales to know his pleasure what should be done with the small remainder of the fleet now laid up by the walls. Our Prince was now desired again to take upon him the charge of admiral, Prince Maurice being appointed for his vice-admiral, and the rear-admiral to be Sir John Mennes. The matter being now resolved upon, his Highness resigned himself to the good pleasure and liking of the Prince of Wales and his council, with all deference imaginable to the Royal authority and family, and received his commission of admiral in the terms following:—"

[A very verbose document here intervenes; its purport may be expressed in one line: it gave to Prince Rupert on sea "all the powers he formerly exercised on land;" and his authority was to be "unlimited on the coasts of the three kingdoms."

About this time, the Presbyterian party in Scotland, professing loyalty, had sent Commissioners to Prince Charles. They consisted of those who were more hostile to Montrose: the latter, therefore, was kept at a distance, notwithstanding the wishes of Prince Rupert. Sir Edward Hyde was sent to have a clandestine interview with the great Scottish Cavalier. However, as he tells us in his Life, Montrose is not pleased, and writes thus to Prince Rupert:—

Sir,

I had the honour to receive your Highness's by Sir John Urrie,[1] and was informed by him, likewise, of all your Highness committed to him to deliver, to which I could not have failed to have made an instant return, but that I was still upon my dispatch with these slow gamesters here, to have waited upon your Highness myself, which, finding draw to a little more length than I could have imagined, I am constrained humbly to crave your Highness's pardon, to be resolved of your commands in this way. I must confess, as your Highness has perhaps heard, that it is my resolution to return for the Imperial Court, though I never intended it, without being resolved first to receive your commands, as the persons in the world shall have greatest influence upon all my services. In regard there is nothing of honour amongst the stuff here, and that I am not found useful for His Majesty's service in the way of home. Always, if your Highness shall wish me to engage, or find a fair way for it, or be to lay your rest[1] at any stake, I entreat your Highness to believe that I have

---

[1] "Colonel Hurry is the ever-changing Sir John Hurry, sometimes called Uray and Hurrey, who whisks like a most rapid actor of all works, ever on a new side, ever changing in the van, through this Civil War drama. The notablest feat he ever did, was leading Prince Rupert on that marauding party from Oxford to High Wycombe, on the return from which Hampden met his death. Hurry had been on the Parliament side before. He was taken at last when Montrose was taken, and hanged out of the way."—*Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. (note) p. 375.

I do not find that any meeting between the gallant Marquis and the Prince ever took place. I find one more letter from the former, and his name is mentioned no further in these papers. Before the Prince returned from his Corsair expedition, Montrose had crowned his gallant life by an heroic death:—

SIR,

According to your commands, by your Highness's return, I was immediately to have found the way to have wait on you, but did receive one letter, just at the same time, from one Mr. Mowbray, who pretends to have orders for me from His Majesty, and to be on the way, together with some others with them; wherefore supposing it might be very fit for your Highness that I should smell them out, Sir—I did attend you, and withal (that they should have no pretext to work upon, as I know they would be very apt unto), I have made bold to hazard some very few days upon your Highness's patience, of which I thought fit to give you notice, that you should not conceive me slackened of the invincible [desire, I believe] I have vowed ever to retain, to serve you. And though it will but oblige a four or five days' delay, I hope it may advance much more in other kinds. Meanwhile, I shall make bold to trouble your Highness no further, but only crave your favour, to tell you this truth, that I am as much as any person alive, sir,

Your Highness's most passionate Servant,

MONTROSE.

Brussels, 14th December, 1648.

I again resume the Prince's own story.]

Montrose was made a marquis in 1644. These letters are often endorsed with the names and titles more familiar to the writer.

"After the perfecting his commission, and the formal authorising of the Prince to all purposes, and with all powers therein contained, such yet was the tenderness and modesty of his Highness, that he could not proceed heartily and effectually upon the service without first craving satisfaction upon some other scruples, which, in truth, imported rather matter of respect than any sort of relation to his charge; and this will appear by Prince Charles's answer to the request of Prince Rupert, whereof the following is a true copy:—

CHARLES PRINCE.

Right dear, and right entirely beloved cousin, we greet you well. Whereas, you have often desired of us, when we declared our intention to make you Admiral of the fleet under our command, that your authority and commission might be subordinate; and, with relation to our dear brother, the Duke of York, which, though we intend to do, yet methought it not fit at this time; in regard our said brother was speedily to remove into France. But, for your satisfaction therein, we hereby declare unto you, that whensoever our said brother shall desire any authority over the fleet, that we will then alter your commission, and make it with express subordination to him, at your desire. And, in the mean time, we expect that you do proceed to put in execution that commission which you now have.

Given under our hand and seal, at the Hague, the fifth day of January, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the King, our royal father.[1]

---

[1] The good feeling, good taste, and disinterestedness on Rupert's part exhibited by this letter is very noticeable.

"The Prince had just taken the command of the fleet, and received the order at Helvoet-Sluys, when a letter was brought him from the King in the Isle of Wight, by Sir William Compton, and William Legge, to send a ship to the Isle of Wight, to lie there ready for his Majesty's escape; being charged to acquaint only the Prince of Orange with it, and no other mortal: and to desire his ordering it, which upon our Prince's application to him, was readily granted."

[This very interesting letter is copied into the Prince's Diary, already frequently quoted from.

DEAREST NEPHEW,

For want of a cipher, I have chosen this most trusty messenger, Will Legge, to acquaint you with a business which is of great importance for my service; for I have commanded him to desire in my name both your advice and assistance. Of which, knowing your affection to me, I am so confident that I will say no more, but only to desire you to give full credit to this bearer, and to give him a quick despatch, for his sake who is

Your loving uncle and most faithful friend,

CHARLES R.[1]

Newport, Saturday, 28th October, 1648.

[Endorsement.] By Sir William Compton and Sir Edward Lisle, who is yet living in the Isle of Wight, with instructions to provide a ship, and not to acquaint any of the Privy Council with it, nor the Prince of Wales himself, unless he thought fit.]

---

[1] This letter is quoted by Mr. Forster in his "Life of Cromwell." He states that the original is in Lord Nugent's collection. The above only professes to be a copy; that which Mr. Forster gives does not contain the endorsement.

"The Prince had gone himself, if he could have been spared from the fleet; but Mr. Sayers[1] was sent with the ship. The captain went accordingly, and acquitted himself very well, being searched and examined; but his pretence [to the Roundheads] was that he lay only for a wind, and would not stir, and there he continued five or six days, which was as long as any excuse could be made.

"After these marks of a singular esteem for the honour and abilities of our illustrious Prince, we shall now give an account of his instructions, as well as of his powers, which instructions were afterwards supplied by a new commission upon the change of condition in the person of the King.

"The ships were all extremely unfurnished, both of men and provisions, and the Royal party at that time so necessitous that they were fain to pawn the brass guns of the Antelope, a stately ship, at Rotterdam, to victual and rig up the rest against the breaking up of the frost; beside that, the Queen of Bohemia's jewels were pawned over and above, or the work had never been done. To say nothing of the sloth, improvidence, and neglect of some who had formerly the management of this affair, who had no other way but by discouraging others, and creating difficulties where none were, to vindicate and justify themselves.[2]

---

[1] The MS. has a memorandum here in these words: "Mem. inquire of his widow, the ship's and the captain's name."

[2] Sir Edward Hyde bears the following testimony to these

"His Highness having, with incredible diligence, got together some of the old seamen; and, with a little ready money and hope of future purchase, engaged others—in the interim, while the flag-ships were fitting, sent out to sea, January the 11th, Captain Marshall in the Roebuck, a vessel of one

---

difficulties, as well as those of the Prince of Wales in another department:—

SIR,

This evening I have received your Highness's letter of the last night. I am exceedingly sensible, and truly, I think, everybody with whom I converse is so, of the difficulties of all kinds with which you are to wrestle, and if we could administer any kind of assistance to you, we would do it most gladly. For God's sake, tell me who you would have come to you, and it shall go hard but you shall be satisfied. This is the first day I have been able to get out of my chamber, and if your Highness believes I can do you as much service there as here, I will not fail to wait on you. It is a wicked thing that your sea-officers, upon whom you must so much depend, should be so negligent, to say no worse. Is not Dick Fielding worth so much consideration as for your Highness to vouchsafe to chide him? Methinks he should not want honesty or courage, and having both, it is as strange he should be negligent at such a time as this.

Here is a report come hither this day, they say from my Lord Willoughby, by one Jack Owen, who it seems is known to many here, who says he came from London on Friday last, and reports with confidence that the King and the two Houses are agreed, and the City preparing an array, but other evidence of this I hear not.

A Dutchman came to us this morning upon the report of selling the Antelope, with her tackling of sails and anchors, for which he offered to deal. We gave him for the present no positive answer, but if your Highness think it would yield a considerable sum, he shall be sent to you, for I perceive you will want many sums of money which are not yet apprehended; as poor Captain Kettleby this day told us, that upon the warrants formerly given to Hammond he hath not yet received a penny, which is a sad business, and I hope you will be able upon the sugar ship or this new contract to relieve him; for, I protest to God, if I know anything, the Prince is in the most lamentable condition of want that any gentleman hath been acquainted with. If you were hundred and twenty tons and fourteen small guns, and Captain (since Sir Thomas) Allen, in the Guinea frigate of three hundred tons and thirty guns; both which quickly made advantageous returns; the former having taken a collier with 800*l.* ready money in her; and the latter a ship from Hamburgh richly laden, taken out of Yarmouth road, as she lay there at anchor.[1]

"His Highness being now ready to enter upon his voyage, received a most gracious letter from Prince Charles, upon the very point of his departure, which we cannot well omit in this place with justice either to the generosity and tenderness of his Highness the Prince of Wales, or to the merits and abilities of the heroic Prince Rupert, wherefore we shall deliver it word for word, according to the original."

---

once gone out with the fleet, I would get out of this crowd. God preserve your Highness. Sir, Your Highness's

Most humble and obedient servant,

EDWARD HYDE.

Hague, this 10 Thursday, eight at night.
[No date, probably Jan. 1649.]

Mr. Attorney hath been here this day, and, I hope, will not stir out of town till your commission be settled.

[1] It is amusing now (sad enough at the time, no doubt) to hear of the *naïve* manner in which the Royal Wanderer's exchequer and his fleet for the future were maintained. If they want to "fit up a vessel" or to "victual a frigate," they send out a couple of cruisers to take the first "ship" they can catch, which they sell in the most plausible manner. In the following year, Charles II. is invited to come to Ireland by Prince Rupert, and his Highness, knowing that it was necessary to furnish the *viaticum*, very coolly sends out and catches *a Dutchman* "worth 10,000*l.*, which he sends to the fugitive King as travel-money (the Dutch being at the time their very particular friends, greatly facilitated this species of commerce)."

[This letter is unfortunately lost. Here the MS. breaks off.]

The difficulties which Rupert had to contend with had not their only origin in mutinies, in want of money and of men, but also in the Prince's Council, where Culpepper's vehemence and skill gave great weight to his arguments. Those arguments were always hostile to Prince Rupert. It appears that Batten, who fired on the Queen at Burlington, is now in command in the King's service, and has been displaying the Royal Standard, which Rupert was forbidden to make use of, except upon special occasions. Sir Edward Hyde explains :—

SIR,

I promised the Prince [of Wales] to give your Highness advertisement of the debate, concerning this wearing of the standard, in which I learned many things which I never heard before. It is agreed by all, that the standard is properly and of right to be worn only by the Lord High Admiral of England; and when I inquired of the order granted for the Lord Willoughby's, or Sir William Batten's wearing it, it is said, that it was thought then necessary, since the Earl of Warwick wore a standard; that whosoever commanded the fleet that was to fight against him, should likewise wear one, lest the seamen should be discouraged, and look upon the Earl as the greater person; so that it is the opinion of all, that when you are like to engage with the rebels' fleet, your men may expect you should wear that ensign; it is, therefore, wholly referred to your Highness, to wear it upon any occasions you think fit. And I thought it very agreeable to my devotion to your Highness, to present this intimation to you, that, from a constant, frequent wearing it, some persons may, according to their custom, infuse into the Duke of York an opinion that he is supplanted; and others report that the Prince hath made an Admiral of England, which, as all men know, is not in his power; so none should believe at such a time, when they talk so loudly of deposing his father.

I shewed his Highness the postscript of your letter, and asked him privately, for of this I spoke only to himself, whether he would give me leave to prepare half-a-dozen lines for his own hand, to the Marquis of Ormond, which he wished me to do, and, before I came out of the house, I did, and delivered it to him, upon his absolute promise to send me his letter this night, by nine o'clock, and I might send it to your Highness. If he hath not said enough to him, it is my fault; but, truly it is, all I would have wished him to say, if he had been in the room with him. He hath told him of the extraordinary arts which have been used to bring this fleet to nothing, and that he owes all that is kept to your industry and dexterity; that he expects now, that they who are disinclined to his service, should employ all their wit to make an ill understanding between your Highness and his Lordship [Ormond], which would be the most mischievous thing could befall the public; that he knows your Highness is very well prepared against all such attempts; and so conjures him, &c. And truly, sir, I do not apprehend any danger this way, and I know your Highness will comply in all things with him, as a person, besides his great merit, of the clearest and most entire reputation of any subject the King hath.

. . . . so much by the year to each, which would be a certainty out of an uncertainty, for all must depend upon the taking of prizes, which may amount to so much, or whether it should be so much upon the pound, as the commissioners of excise had at Oxford, and usually all receivers have: and, it may be, there may be reason to allow some persons more than others, according to the charges they are put to; so that I do not believe your Highness can so well proportion what will be fit to be done in that particular, till you come into Ireland; you see what your wealth is, or is like to be . . . . . .

I ask your pardon for this long vexation I give you, which proceeds from the great desire I have to serve you, as, sir,

Your Highness's most faithful and obedient servant,
EDWARD HYDE.

Hague, Wednesday, eight at night.
? January, 1649.

The MSS. writer whose story we are about to follow was evidently a sharer in the exploits he describes. He was evidently, too, to have his hero for his critic, which may account for the very ceremonious style that he adopts. Occasionally, however, he utters himself more freely, and is then graphic and even humorous, but always very decorous as regards the Prince. His account of the foundering of the Constant Reformation is very powerfully told and, indeed, it would be difficult to spoil such a majestic episode of heroism. I imagine this writer was either Dr. Watts, Prince Rupert's chaplain, or Captain Pyne; probably the relation was made by the sailor, judging from its nautical expressions; and, judging from the very proper and unexceptionable nature of the narrative, we may perhaps infer that it was corrected by the Divine. It is to be feared that the actual life those seafaring Cavaliers were used to lead, was scarcely so unexceptionable.

PRINCE RUPERT'S VOYAGE TO THE WEST INDIES.

DEPARTURE OF THE FLEET UNDER PRINCE RUPERT, FROM HELVOETSLUYS, IN JANUARY, 1649.[1]

"THE Fleet being unfortunately brought into great necessities by the improvident conduct of those who had the management thereof, and having

---

[1] The following letter should be read as giving a picture, from the great historian's pen, of the mournful state of the King's party:—

SIR E. HYDE TO SIR R. FANSHAW.

I need not tell you much of ourselves, or of this place. I never lived with less satisfaction to myself any part of my life. There was a purpose that the Prince should have gone to Jersey, but that again is suspended, upon an invitation from the Prince of Orange to stay here until he be ready for some design. That design, I hope, will be Ireland, to which all my friends are heartily inclined; and I believe the next clear advice from my Lord Ormond to that purpose will be followed. In the meantime, I presume the fleet will be with you before this comes to your hands; the preservation whereof must be entirely ascribed to Prince Rupert, who seriously hath expressed greater temper and discretion in it than you can imagine. I know there is, and will be, much prejudice to the service by his being engaged in the command, you will believe me, and not be without that prospect, both by your own observation and the information we every day received from England. But, the truth is, there was an unavoidable necessity in it. Batten and Jordan played the rogues with us; and when, after their full promises, they had kept us in expectation that the fleet would be ready to go out by a day, they came on a sudden, and, without more ceremony, told us they would not go to sea, nor any more to Helvoetsluys, having at the same time used all their skill to corrupt both officers and mariners. In this distress Prince Rupert took the charge, and, with unwearied pains and toil, put all things in reasonable order, it being then resolved that the Duke of York should go with the fleet to Ireland. But, to our amazement, his old Presbyterian counsellers wrought so on his Royal Highness, that in express lost the opportunity of making themselves masters of the English seas, by creating difficulties where none were; by that and their sloth gave leisure and boldness to their enemies, to prevent those undertakings which were consulted of too late; insomuch as the enemy was increased to that strength, as they grew formidable and the Royal party hardly able to defend themselves, seeking refuge in a country[1] whose neutrality might rather administer suspect than protection. Moreover, the often interparlance of both parties gave opportunity to the enemy to suggest matter enough whereby to disanimate, if not seduce, our men, which took such effect as some officers betrayed their trust, and many seamen revolted.

"The fleet being thus daily enfeebled, and the danger impending great, by his Majesty's want of monies to supply men and ships with provisions, the former undertakers quitted their employments, though not their avarice and evil counsel; and being at an exigent what to determine, counselled his Majesty[2] to employ Prince Rupert as the fittest person to undertake so shaken a design: after the conclusion whereof, and the Prince's acceptance of the

---

terms he refused it. So you see the necessity of what is done, and really I believe the Prince will behave himself so well in it, that nobody will have cause to be sorry for it. I know I need not charge you to perform all offices towards preserving a right understanding between his Highness and the Lord-Lieutenant.

The Hague, Jan. 21, 1648-9.

[1] Holland.

[2] Then Prince of Wales.

charge, the ordnance of the Antelope[1] were sold to produce monies for equipping the rest; with part whereof—a frigate and a small ship—they fortunately set forth, and returned with prizes sufficient to set forth the fleet; which, with the first fair wind, his Highness performed, setting sail directly for Ireland.[2] In which voyage he encountered many and

---

[1] "The Queen of Bohemia pawned her jewels, or it had not been done."

[2] Another MS. gives the following particulars of this fleet:—

"With the blessing of the Prince of Wales's affectionate farewell, his Highness [Rupert] set sail for Ireland from Helvoetsluys, January 21 [1649], with three flag-ships, four frigates, and one prize (the collier being sold to help to victual the fleet), in company with the Amsterdam, a Dutch ship of 1000 tons, and two others of less burthen bound for the Indies, the wind at east and east-north-east. In the Admiral, a second-rate ship, which was never allowed less than three hundred men, there were but forty seamen and eighty soldiers, and the other two flag-ships furnished at the same proportion. The frigates, indeed, were a little better manned, for they were to bestir themselves and venture for booty.

"By twelve o'clock on the 22nd of January, the wind continuing still where it was, they came as high as Dover. His Highness by break of day that morning, sailing by the Downs, discovered at anchor Admiral Moulton with three or four good frigates, two whereof, that is to say, the Constant Warwick and the Satisfaction, were of those that were revolted again to the rebels."

At this time Prince Charles writes thus:—

TO SIR GEORGE CARTERET, BART.

CHARLES P.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We having some time since conferred the command of his Majesty's fleet upon our right dear and right entirely beloved cousin, Prince Rupert, he hath, by his great industry and endeavour, brought the same into a condition to be ready to set sail with the first opportunity, and hath instructions from us to put in at Jersey, and to endeavour the reduction of Guernsey, if he shall have means to attempt the same with probability of success. We intreat you therefore, not only to give him your best advice in that particular, but all the assistance you may, in case he great difficulties, being weakly manned and enforced to sail through the Channel, whereby he must, of necessity, come in view of the enemy's fleet, who rode in the Downs; by reason whereof, there was much murmuring amongst the men; which was presently silenced by the Prince's resolution, for as soon as he made their fleet, he steered directly with them; who, being surprised with so bold an attempt, dispersed themselves in great confusion. The bravery of the act being crowned with wished success, confirmed the men's affections to prosecute the service under the conduct of their new General: Heaven also assisting, with a favourable gale, the whole fleet to their desired coast; but, through the inexpertness of the pilots, they were prevented of their intended port, and so forced to leeward in several harbours, though all in safety."

Finally, they all made rendezvous in Kinsale.[1]

---

shall think fit to make any attempt upon the said island of Guernsey.

Given under our hand and seal, the 11th day of January, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the King our royal Father.

To our trusty and well-beloved Sir George Carteret,
Bart, Lieut.-Governor of the Island of Jersey.

"They judged the three Dutch ships in company with his Highness's fleet to be hired into the King's service; in which belief they were the rather confirmed when they saw his Highness, who was resolved to make the best of a bad game, so boldly bearing up to them; upon which supposition they slipped their anchors and sheltered themselves under the castles, though Moulton's own ship, the St. George, might have engaged his Highness's whole fleet, the Satisfaction being run aground: and so the Prince stood on west-south-west."

[1] See the Appendix for the state of Ireland at this time.

Here the Prince first heard of the King's death in the following letter:—

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO PRINCE RUPERT.

SIR,

Though, when your Highness left this place, there was no reason to expect any good news from England, yet the horrid wickedness which hath been since acted there, with those dismal circumstances which attended it, was so far beyond the fears and apprehensions of all men, that it is no wonder we were all struck into that amazement with the deadly news of it, that we have not yet recovered our spirits to think or do as we ought. For though he had too great cause to look every day to hear of the death and murder of the King, yet that it should be done in the light of the sun, and in that manner, I think no man could imagine. I shall not enlarge upon this woful argument, I hope it will put new fire of honest rage and fury into us, and infuse a united resolution into all men who would be reputed subjects or Christians, to take and follow those courses and counsels which are most likely to take vengeance upon those incarnate devils. And methinks, the sense of this unparalleled wickedness, and the judgments of God which must attend the authors and abettors of it, should work such a detestation in the hearts of all Englishmen in that kingdom where your Highness now is, that Jones himself and Monk should run to their allegiance and join in the revenge. But with this sad discourse I will trouble your Highness no further. We have not heard one word from your Highness since your removal from hence; yet here is a skipper of Rotterdam arrived, who says he was at Kinsale when you came in with thirteen sail of ships, and that he was since at Waterford, when the peace was proclaimed there; and mentions so many particulars, and he is so well known here, that we give full credit to him, and promise ourselves a full relation and advice very shortly from your Highness, and from my Lord Lieutenant, from whom no letter hath come hither since that of the 2nd of October. You will believe upon this great alteration, that our Court is full of distraction; all men being full of design to be counsellors and officers, and Percy, at least, keeps his interest. Yet the King hitherto keeps himself upon his guard, and professeth that he will not yet dispose of any place; and really he carries himself very well. That which I like worst is, that he will not be persuaded to send more counsellors, which must proceed from somewhat I do not understand. I hope your Highness have better intelligence out of England than we have, who have not heard what they have done since the murder of the King, neither is Harry Seymour or any other messenger returned from thence. But truly in this place they have expressed their sense of this wickedness with all imaginable circumstances of respect to the King; the States-General, their several colleges, and the clergy, and all kinds of men having attended his Majesty, and manifested a great horror and detestation of the villany. How this affection may be improved and made use of, is the present business, for hitherto it has consisted only in words. The King's wants being so great that he is not able to send messengers to the Christian princes; insomuch as Mr. Pooly, who went yesterday to the Queen, stayed four days for the procurement of 50*l.* for the charge of his journey; and if we can find no way to get money to put business into order, we shall not be able to move. Our Court is full of Scots. The Earls of Lauderdale and Lanrick are here, being, as they say, driven out of their country by the power of Argyle, who is in a firm league with Cromwell. Here is likewise the Marquis of Montrose, who in truth is a gallant person, and very impatient to be doing; and though the Presbyterians are as busy as ever, yet I believe the next news I shall send you will be that his Majesty entirely trusts Montrose, and puts the business of Scotland wholly into his conduct, and he doubts not but to be able to get many horse and foot out of Germany if he shall need; so that I doubt not the design of having the King into Scotland will be disappointed, and without doubt the Keep exceedingly desire to be in Ireland, which I hope is as much desired there. I know not what more to say to your Highness till I hear from you and receive your commands, which I will punctually obey. The captain of the Blackamore Lady hath stayed here ten days for want of 100*l.*, which at last, with great difficulty, we have furnished him with; indeed, we wondered he would put into these harbours with such prizes as were necessary to be discharged, or otherwise would have been taken away by the justice of the country. One was a Scotchman, who, besides that he was worth little, brought over the Earl of Seaford, a person of great power there, and who joined always with my Lord Montrose; another was an Amsterdam man, and the third of Denmark, neither of which could be made prize after they were brought hither. But I hear the captain took good prizes at Meath, and disposed of them, of which I hope he will give you an account. I have contracted with a merchant of Rotterdam to send corn into Ireland, who will send one ship within these four days, and by him I will again trouble your Highness, and likewise send a duplicate of this, lest this vessel should have a misfortune. I beseech your Highness, if you send any vessels this way, vouchsafe two or three lines to Charles II., who will be much encouraged by it. My last to your Highness was by way of London. God preserve your Highness, and me no longer than I lay hold on all opportunities to express myself, sir,

Your Highness's most obedient servant,
EDWARD HYDE.

Hague, 28th February.

This letter was apparently accompanied by the following, enclosing the Prince's commission from Charles THE SECOND:—

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

His Majesty hath commanded me to send your Highness by this bearer, Captain Dossey, a new commission and new instructions, in both which there is no other alteration from the former but what is necessary in regard to the change of condition in the person of the King, by the barbarous murder of his father by the bloody rebels in England. The King hath yet no other new seal, but the signet under which this commission is past, but I am confident when the great seal is made, which will require some time, he will grant your Highness such confirmation of those powers you have already, or such further authority as shall be necessary.

R. LONG [Secretary to Charles II.].

From here, in the midst of danger and difficulties, the Prince writes the following gentle letter to his mother:—

A LA REINE DE BOHEME.

MADAME,

J'ai une extrême satisfaction que votre Majesté soit persuadée de la part que je continue de prendre dans tout ce qui la touche, et que la douleur que m'a fait recevoir le changement de Madame la Princesse Louise.[1] Il est vrai qu'on a fait courir des fruits qui l'intéressent, and qu'ils ont été portés jusques dans ses provinces. Je suis tres-aise que votre Majesté ait eu la bonté de s'en ouvrir à moi; car, outre que c'est une marque de sa confiance, elle me donne la moyen de travailler à les dissiper, et d'en faire remarquer la fausseté. Je souhaite qu'ils viennent plûtot des ennemies de Madame la Princesse de Zolern que d'elle-même, et qu'elle ne soit pas assez malheureuse pour que cette fâcheuse rencontre lui fasse perdre les bonnes graces de votre Majesté, qui avait toujours eu pour elle vrai bienveillance toute particuliere, et de

---

[1] Her conversion to the Roman Catholic faith.

laquelle elle ne saurait avoir une trop grande reconnaissance. Je puis cependant assurer votre Majesté, qu'en cette occasion j'aurai tous les sentimens que votre Majesté m'inspirera; et que si elle continue à me faire part da ce qui se passera dans cette affaire, je me réglerai aux ordres qu'elle me prescrira, et lui donnerái sujet de croire que je ne suis pas moins que par le passé. Si ce n'était point manquer au respect que je vous dois, je demanderais a votre Majesté des nouvelles du Roi [Charles II.] son neveu, and de l'état de ses affaires; sur le sujet desquelles je ne me puis rien reprocher. Mais l'étroite union qui est présentement entre la France et le gouvernment d'Angleterre ne me permet pas de dire tout ce que j'ai sur le cœur, dans lequel je conserve pour le Roi un respect inviolable. Madame, de votre Majesté,

Le très humble, très obéissant, et très fidele serviteur,
LE P. DE RUPERT.[1]

24 Fevrier, 1649.

The following letter alludes to the same transaction:—

PRINCE RUPERT TO THE STATES GENERAL.

HAUTS ET PUISSANTS SEIGNEURS,

J'aí trop de part à tout ce qui concerne la Reine, ma mère, et les interests de nostre maison, pour n'avoir pas esté sensiblement touché de l'affliction, qu'on luí accuse par l'enlèvement de ma sœur la Princesse Louise;[2] mais aussi j'ai eu beaucoup de consolation, quand j'ai su, que vos seigneuries avoient pris l'affaire en main, et que vous aviez considéré les très justes plaintes de la Reine, avec toute la tendresse et la reflection de vostre justice et de vostre prudence. J'espère, messieurs, que vous ferez avoir à la Reine et à toute nostre maison la satisfaction que nous est du, et l'égard des médisances, qui augmentent si outragieusement l'injure, qui vous a esté faite par le dit enlévement. Je vous supplie, messieurs, de nous donner de nouvelles marques de la continuation de vostre affection et de vostre justice, et de croire qu'en mon particulier je n'oublierai jamais de tesmoigner à vos seigneuries en toutes occasions par mes très humbles services la reconnaissance de vostre amitié et de vostre protection, vous protestant, que je suis avec passion,

---

[1] Bromley's Royal Letters.

[2] The Princess had fled (it was said she had been carried away) to the Roman Catholic States, as is told hereafter.

Hauts et puissants seigneurs,
vostre très humble serviteur,
(Signé) RUPERT.[1]

"Soon after our arrival here, his Highness, having increased his fleet, neglected no means or occasion to advance his designs; but following his first success, set forth some ships, by means whereof, in short time, the harbours were stored with prizes, to our unspeakable joy, and enemy's loss: so as he who lately was necessitated for want of men and money, hath now profusely of both, and begins to plough the main with confidence, claiming the obedience thereof to his standard, and is become the wonder and amazement of his very enemies, having, for his first exploit, relieved [the] Scilly [Islands], and strengthened them with a considerable party of soldiers; all which was done with part of the fleet.[2]

---

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vi. 803.

[2] The naval reader may find interest in the following:—

"Rule of proportion, whereby every man shall know what is his due in taking of such vessels as shall be adjudged prizes.

"First, his Majesty is to be allowed his fifteenth, and his admiral the tenth, the remainder is to be divided into three parts; the one part for the owners of such ships as shall be set out at

[The following letter must have been written soon after this visit:—

DEAR SIR,

You will receive, if these ships come safe, such provision as we can spare here, and also some men, which I

---

their respective costs, one other for the victualler, the other to be divided amongst the seamen, and that part to be subdivided as followeth.

	Shares.
The admiral of the fleet ...	40
The vice-admiral of the fleet	40
The rear-admiral of the fleet	40
The commander-in-chief of a squadron, where neither of the three chief officers is present	40
A captain, besides dead shares	12
A lieutenant	9
A master	8
A master's mate	6
A pilot	8
A master-gunner	5
A boatswain	5
A purser	5
A master-carpenter	5
A master-cook	4
A steward	3
A coxswain	3
A boatswain's mate	3
A gunner's mate	3
A carpenter's mate	3
A cook's mate	
A cooper	
A quarter-master	3
A yeoman	3
A quarter-gunner	3
A coxswain's mate	3
A steward's mate	3
A swabber	3
A swabber's mate	
A trumpeter	4
A trumpeter's mate	2½
A drum	3
A fife	
Other carpenters as common men.	
A muster-master	6
A marshal	5
A preacher	5
A surgeon	5
A surgeon's mate	3
A corporal	4
An armourer	3

"In case we fight, then all the pillage between decks belongs to the company that enters; if we enter and fight not, then the pillage to be brought to the mainmast and prized.

"Likewise where a ship is fought withal and entered by force, then the best gun belongs to the captain and what belongs to the captain taken in his cabin; to the gunner, the second gun; to the master, the best cable and anchor; to the boatswain, the kedge and hawser; the master's mate's-mates, the mainsail; the surgeon, the surgeon's chest; the carpenter, the carpenter's tools;

was fain to send out of my own regiment. They are all armed, and have some to spare: the officers have formerly served his Majesty; you may trust them. I doubt not, ere long, to see Scilly a second Venice . . it will be for our security and benefit; for if the worst come to the worst, it is but going to Scilly with this fleet, where, after a little while, we may get the King a good subsistence, and, I believe, we shall make a shift to live, in spite of all factions.

Your most faithful and loving friend,
RUPERT.[1]]

Kinsale, Saturday, April 28, 1649.

"In their return to their port, the frigate Charles was separated by storms from his consorts, and, by a fog fell in with the Leopard and the Constant Warwick, two Parliament men-of-war, who, after long dispute, took her. This accident carries with it divers reports; some imputing the fault to the Captain, others to the officers which commanded the squadron: but the care and conduct of his convoy will clear him from the crime, and although the loss seemed not valuable, yet it proved prejudicial to the fleet, causing a

---

the cook, the kettle; the gunner's mates, the loose powder; the trumpeter, the mizen; the drummer, the drum: the hatches to be spiked down of all prizes upon entering.

"Common men to have two shares, to be added or diminished at the judgment of the captain as he shall think fit.

"A boy half a share.

"A proportion of shares extraordinary reserved for wounded men: suppose ten shares out of every prize.

"All other things to be regulated according to the custom of the seas.

"CHARLES R."

[1] For this interesting letter I am indebted to Lord John Fitzroy.

diversity of opinions both in officers and private men, whose inclinations led them to sidings. His Highness foreseeing the danger of such private disputes, thought it not convenient to question any further, but rather slight it as not worth his taking notice of, by which means he quieted the disturbed fancies of the common people, although the officers retained some animosities among themselves, which woful experience taught us in the progress of the ensuing designs."

[The following letter contains one of the few welcomes Prince Rupert met with in Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I have been always ambitious to be esteemed your servant, and your unwearied labours for the King and gallant dangerous undertakings increase my desires therein; there are but few men, of your quality and fortune, that would expose himself to those difficulties you constantly are subject unto, your ends therein having no particular relation to the interest of your own person, and seeing that the redemption of his sacred Majesty is that which your Highness proposes to make your actions glorious, I am confident you will accomplish it, and may he perish that contributes not thereto.

This nation have, in some proportion, given testimony of their loyalty; and it is a great omen of our happiness, that, upon the perfection of our peace your Highness appears a bulwark against our enemies. If my Lord-Lieutenant permits me, I will wait upon him to kiss your hands, there being no creature that congratulates your coming into this kingdom more than

Your Highness's most faithful and humble Servant,

Carrick [on Suir], Feb. 2, 1649. TAAFFE.]

I may here also introduce a letter without precise date from Sir Edward Hyde. That passage has especial interest in which Prince Rupert is requested to contribute towards the great history in which his Highness is so hardly dealt with :—

SIR,

This bearer is one of those were mentioned to you at the last conference you were pleased to admit here, as a person fit to be employed in a clerk's place for the taking accounts. Truly, I think him a very honest man, and, without doubt, is in a desperate condition with the Parliament, which is on degree towards trust in these dangerous times. If your Highness find he may be useful, I beseech you dispose him accordingly. I hear many of the officers who came out of the North, intend to wait on your Highness at sea, of which I am very glad; and the more since the sight of a letter which the Prince hath lately received from my Lord Ormond, which, upon the whole matter, is a very cheerful one; for, though he acknowledges some indisposition in some officers of the army towards a peace with the confederate Catholics, yet he doubts not to master those difficulties, and is abundantly satisfied with my Lord Inchequin, and says if the fleet comes thither, it will not be only secure in the Harbours of Cork and Kinsale, but give such a countenance to the affair there, that he doubts not he shall shortly invite His Highness to the possession of the better part of that kingdom, and in a very short time to the absolute command and dispose of very considerable armies there. Methinks, sir, this should give us some new life; for, I confess, I see no prospect that hath light and pleasure in it but that of Ireland: and if the Prince were once there, I would hope our brethren of Scotland might be treated with upon more equal conditions. I have not been able to stir out of my chamber since you went, but I hear that the Prince is resolved to go to Ireland on Friday morning; so that when you discern his presence to be necessary at the fleet, it will be necessary that your intimation be a day or two the sooner. And now, sir, give me leave to put your Highness in mind of a gracious intimation, if you will not give me leave to call it a promise, that you would vouchsafe me some memorials and observations of the late most signal actions in England, by which I may be the better able to remember what ought not to be forgotten, when I shall have leisure again to proceed in that unequal task I have adventured on. Indeed, such a contribution from your Highness will give me much courage, and, therefore, I hope you will let me prosper in this suit. God preserve your Highness. Sir,

Your Highness's most humble and
most obedient Servant,
EDWARD HYDE.]

Hague, this 6th Wednesday, 10 at night.

"Winter being spent, we began to careen and fit for a summer voyage: but the fleet being ready to fall down to the mouth of the harbour, the enemy appeared with a very potent fleet before it, which caused us to stop our proceedings. His Highness, to prevent their coming in, raised two batteries at the entrance, to secure his ships, until, upon consultation with his officers, he might know what was most expedient to be done. In the council it was decreed not to engage, until more men-of-war might be fitted, and some fireships; to which purpose, his Highness went in person to all the port-towns on that coast, and engaged as many both soldiers and mariners as he could, for this expedition. This preparation required some time, in which our hasty advisers' courages grew cold by a more consideration of the business; for when his Highness was ready to set sail, a council-of-war was called to set all things in order for that engagement, in which they voted it unfit to hazard what they now possessed against so powerful an enemy, and that it was much better to secure the shipping within the harbour, until by force of bad weather the enemy might be driven from the coast, and so set sail without danger. This pretence was plausible enough, but his Highness, who had found the temper of this people, knew it to be rather the security of their own possessions than the public interest which they endeavoured; yet, since it was carried by the major part, he would not seem to contradict it, lest upon an ill success he might be censured of vanity and rashness, and therefore accordingly drew back his fleet into the harbour, where, having spent some months in expectation of a fortunate gale, we began to be wanting victuals and pay for so many men exhausting much treasure; especially when our harbour being blocked up, we had no merchants to come and trade for our goods, and no likelihood of recruit until summer were past. His Highness, to prevent the growth of this extremity, judged it fit to disband the new-raised men, and only keep the flag-ships, with four frigates manned, to wait upon them; yet this could not so speedily be effected, but want began to creep in upon us. The Commissioners, who, by his Majesty's commission, had the disposal of the goods for sale, having sucked the leaves and fruit, caterpillar-like, left us the bare stalk to gnaw on, pleading poverty to excuse furnishing his Highness with money for victualling the fleet, yet, by God's providence and his industry, the victualling of the fleet was once more accomplished without their assistance, and finding them to be a company of self-servers, shook them off as unuseful evils."[1]

[SIR EDWARD HYDE TO PRINCE RUPERT.

SIR,

This evening, I had the honour to receive your Highness's letter of Friday, and if that which I sent yesterday be come to your hands, you find that I had then spoken with Tom Cook. The truth is, nothing could be added to your answer, which is very full, to the States; and it lies upon us here to prevent any inconveniences which may grow, from the power and partiality of this people, of which we have every day some instance. And truly, if it were not to watch that, and that I think myself better able to serve your Highness here than at Helvoetsluys,

---

[1] I find among Lord John Fitzroy's MSS. the following orders from Prince Rupert to Sir John Grenville, then Governor of the Scilly Isles. I can only make out as much as follows from the MS. Recommending Mr. Prog, who has given a bill of exchange for 5000*l*. to his Majesty in Holland, and Rupert has only paid him 533*l*. as he does not like the prizes at Kinsale, wherefore Rupert begs Sir John Grenville (who, it seems, keeps piratic stores of his own, in his nest at Scilly) to give the bearer 4567*l*. worth, or "10909lb. of Ardasse silk."—*Kinsale*, 14*th April*, 1649. In a letter written previously by a clerk, but signed by the Prince, I find that his Highness sends Sir John Grenville "as much corn, salt, iron, and steel, as the ships could stow;" and asks for butter or any other island commodity in return by Sir John Minne's.—*Kinsale*, 3*rd March*, 1648-49.

(Signed) RUPERT.

I would make haste thither to you, though I am not so well in health as is requisite for so scurvy a journey; but I hope my Lord Hopton will shortly wait on your Highness, and when I think I can be handsomely spared here, I will not fail to kiss your hands, though I stay but a day there; having much to say to you, even to disburthen myself, for I cannot deny that I am so much out of humour, that I want some correction, which I can receive with greater reverence from your Highness than from any other hand. Would you believe that Batten and Jordan have had the presumption to come to the Prince, with the confidence of persons who have saved his life, and been received by him as such; and, if we had not prevented it, would have received a greater testimony of their merit and fidelity, than I believe I should be able to obtain, if I were to be gone tomorrow. Oh, sir, this too-gentle temper will undo us, and make men ashamed of being honest. Here is a new confident discourse of an agreement between the King and the Houses, published by Sir William Batten, upon no grounds that I can hear of; but, indeed, it is strange that we should not receive one word from the King, or intimation from any person we have sent thither, and I do not wonder at any man who keeps his judgment in suspense, till he hears what the conclusion is of that treaty; for how little room soever there is for hope, there wants not abundant argument for fear; and there are still some correspondencies between this place and my Lord of Warwick, which are not understood by any persons with whom I converse.

Your Judge Advocate shall be sent to wait on your Highness speedily, and I beseech you, when he comes, let him take full examination of all particulars, which may be arguments of just complaint for the States' unkind carriage towards us; that at least we may make it appear, we have not been kindly dealt with: and I hope, one way or other, we shall be able to keep the Charles frigate, in spite of our friends as well as our enemies, and, it may be, there is more danger from the former than the latter.

I received an information this evening, which I think necessary to impart to your Highness, though I have not been able so fully to examine the truth of it, as to present it otherwise than discourse; but if one Henry Cowen, a Dutchman, who hath the charge of the ammunition, which was not come to you, when your letter was dated, be now at the Sluys, he is the man who reports that Sir Thomas Hooper offered him so much money to debosh away the foot-soldiers from the Sluys; and that Sir Thomas is to be Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment, and hath received a good sum of money to raise the men, which he hopes to do in this place. God preserve your Highness.

Sir, your most obedient servant,
EDWARD HYDE.]

Hague, Sunday, 9th Nov. 11 at night.

"Having thus spent a wearisome summer in anxiety and troubles, he resolved to make a harvest in the winter, the fleet was now fully fitted, when there began new combustions in the land. His Majesty's army having had a defeat before Dublin, the garrisons about us began to revolt, so as we were to expect an enemy as well by land as by sea. And not being well assured of the governor's fidelity in the port where we were, his Highness surprised the Fort of Kinsale, for security of the fleet, which proved of necessary consequence, for the circumjacent garrisons were already delivered to the enemy. The Governor of Cork, intending to betray the town, resolved to make himself famous by an infamous act, before his intended treachery; to which purpose, knowing his Highness loved hunting, he invited him to the chase of a deer, close by the town; but Heaven abhorring such inhumanity, prevented that design by providing importunate business to impede his Highness's intentions; being again importuned by the Governor for the same sport, he mistrusted him, who seeing himself frustrated of his design, speedily surrendered his town. This was seconded by another plot. The enemy had engaged an ensign belonging to the Prince, to betray his guard at the entrance of the harbour, which he endeavoured with a part of his men; but being discovered and apprehended, they were deservedly executed. His Highness being ready to put to sea, invested the Lord Lieutenant with the fort; these unexpected commotions on land, with the inconvenience our timorous counsellors had exposed us unto, were the cause of laying up divers good ships, for want of men to man them, so that we were driven to begin the world anew, with seven sail; but he who traced the paths of danger with less force, knew the better how to manage this second adventure.

THE VOYAGE FROM IRELAND.

"Winter being come, a strong north-east wind blew hard upon the coast, which forced our enemies to ply to sea, having a dangerous lee-shore; they resolved to beat before the harbour at a distance, the coast being very perilous to anchor upon, but the freshness of the gale made void their design, by dispersing them to divers coasts, so that they who were scattered to the offing stood northward to seek harbour, fearing that being thus separated, they might fall into our hands.

"The seas thus cleared, we set sail for Portugal, and being athwart the Bay of Biscay, we met with foul weather, which forced us to lie a-try[1] under our main course, so that some of our ships lost company by reason of the growing sea, which hindered them from seeing the light; but our rendezvous being about the Burlings, we were not long separated. Prince Maurice met with a Malaga-man, which struck at his summons; the fleet being come together, we directed our course to the rock of Lisbon. In our way, we met two proper ships, the John Adventure and the Hopeful Adventure, both bound from London to St. Lucar, who defended themselves very stoutly for many broadsides, against our small frigates; but their Admiral's main-top-mast being shot by the board, and his ship torn in the dispute, as soon as the flag-ships came up, surrendered themselves. Having spent some time in stopping their leaks, and fitting a topmast for our prize, we stood in for land, when we descried a ship standing our course; we gave her chase, and being within shot, commanded her to strike, which they refusing, stood in; but Prince Maurice steering athwart his fore-foot, prevented his intent, and forced him to lie the lee. She proved to be an English ship bound for Lisbon from Brazil, which might have caused some dispute, because she was freighted by the Portuguese, yet the Court of Admiralty adjudged her our prize, by reason they had refused obedience to their Prince's flag. Having manned her, we stood in for Cascales Road, where his Highness received an embassy from the King of Portugal, to invite him up the river of Lisbon. The Prince having spent most of his provisions, thought it convenient to be assured of a retreat, lest adversity might cause us to fall into our pristine necessity; and being assured from his Majesty, we should have the law of nations made good unto us in his ports, whatsoever enemy came to molest us, he bore into the river Tagus, where, as we sailed, we were saluted all the coast along, by the forts. We sailed along the north channel, and came to an anchor in the Bay of Weyrs: that night we continued there, and next day stood in for the Bay of San Katherina, where we continued for some time to treat with merchants for the sale of our goods, and the victualling our fleet.

---

[1] "Lay-to," I presume.

"THE PROCEEDINGS IN PORTUGAL.

"As soon as we were at anchor in the Bay of St. Katherina, the King of Portugal sent the Conde de Poros unto the Princes, to invite them ashore, and to assure them of all the assistance his kingdom could afford them: their Highnesses having returned thanks to his Majesty, accepted his invitation, and went on shore at Belleisle, where they were received by many of the nobles, and treated in very great state for some days, until preparation was made for their reception at Court; which being ready, the King sent his nobles with a great train to attend them to his palace, where he received them with great kindness, confirming what his ambassador had promised. Being thus assured of the fleet's security, Prince Rupert commanded them to anchor off the fort of Belleisle, where we continued till our prizes were adjudged, and the goods sold, to our content, which spent much time: that performed, we sailed up the river, over against the city, where we careened, victualled and fitted our prizes for men-of-war.

"The fleet being ready to put to sea, with an intent to fall down to our former berth, we fell down to our former berth in Belleisle; but before we were ready to set sail, the enemy came to an anchor before the river's mouth with a great fleet, in which there was an ambassador from the States of England to demand the persons of the Princes and the flag-ships to be delivered into their hands, or else to be immediately put out to sea. This was the effect of this embassy. He landed at Cascales, and was received with great respect, and forthwith had audience: but the King having promised to maintain the law of nations to us within his ports, could not answer his expectation, requiring three days, according to that law, for us to put to sea; but they being masters at sea, would not condescend thereunto. The King, fearing to engage in a war, and being daily importuned by the Conde de Miro, whom they had corrupted by money to embrace their interest, granted that this business should be more seriously considered of at the Council-table, where it was highly urged by the said Conde and his faction on the enemy's behalf. But the Queen and Prince of Portugal, being very sensible how odious a thing in Princes the breach of faith was, and how infamous it would render them to posterity, stood firm to the maintaining their former promise, although nothing had passed under their hands.[1] It was long debated in council before any determination could be set down; being a thing of that consequence either to falsify their Royal word, or make war against a potent enemy; yet to delay time until the Brazil fleet was fitting to send away securely, permitted the enemy to anchor in St. Katherine's Bay, on the other side of Belleisle Fort. His Highness seeing their neighbourhood, and not certain what effects their money and threats might produce, the Council being timorous, and their Conde their friend, being short of provisions, underhand fitted his fleet with all materials to defend himself, force his passage if need were, or perish in the attempt, like himself.

---

[1] The young King of Portugal was as chivalrous as the Spaniards were dastardly: he was scarcely prevented from sailing at the head of his own fleet to escort the Royalists out of his harbour. The mercantile interests of the country, however, proved too strong for him.

"The fleet being now in condition to perform something for its safety, gave suspicion both to the Court and enemies; the one fearing we would seek revenge, and in relation thereunto act desperately, the other suspected themselves abused by the Council and drawn into a snare. The Prince to increase these jealousies and further his design, applied himself to the clergy, urging point of conscience, and sometimes their own interest (they having a large proportion in the government of that kingdom), by which means he made them sensible of the unjust proceedings at Court against him. This took wished effect, and they began to fill the pulpits with how shameful a thing it was for a Christian King to treat with rebels; this so inveterately incensed the people, that the King could hardly pass the street without hearing their exclamations. Prince Rupert perceiving the artifice to take with the commons, began to shew himself frequently amongst them, hunting daily, as though he suspected no danger, but making them his security: this, with his liberality and complaisance to all sorts of people, they having been accustomed to a Spanish gravity were surprised by such unusual favours from so great a person, and very much confirmed their belief to what their preachers had promulgated. Insomuch, as the prevalent faction at Court, for our enemies dared not to propose anything prejudicial to the Princes for fear of the commons. At the same time came into the river two French men-of-war,[1] who by mistake came to anchor in the middle of the enemy's fleet, and going on board the Admiral [Blake], thinking to have saluted the Prince, were by him confined. This much displeased the King, to have his allies and friends taken under command of his forts; yet desiring to avoid a war, sent to demand them in courtesy, which if refused, permission was granted to his Highness and the forts to endeavour their rescue; but the enemy no sooner received the message but they restored the persons confined, as fearing to make a national breach betwixt France and them. The French being at liberty, anchored amongst us. The enemy seeing their affairs go slowly on, or at least come to a doubtful issue, enterprized the surprisal of the Princes' persons, hoping thereby to put a period to the future: and to this purpose, as they were a-hunting, sent a party to lie in wait for them at their return, and pinnaces at the sea-side to take in the undertakers: which pitiful design being descried, the ambuscado made use of legs instead of hands, and glad of an escape, some went to their long home, and others by a willing and forced mistake, went aboard our fleet instead of their own. This treacherous action made the Prince more careful of his person, as on whom so many and much depended; and that they might know that he had wit as well as courage, he soon after endeavoured a requital; for having fitted a bomb-ball in a double-headed barrel, with a lock in the bowels to give fire to a quick-match, sent it a-board their Vice-Admiral in a town-boat with one of his soldiers clad in a Portugal habit, to put into the stern-boat as a barrel of oil, to keep it for him till he hailed up the side without, 'refreshing for the men;' but, being come to the ship's stern, those ports being unfortunately shut, before he could get to the transom-port, he was known, and taken.[1] His Highness being now strengthened with the ships which he bought, having miscarried in his design, and seeing no positive resolution in the Portugal taken as to his business, and not trusting to the wavering affections of the vulgar, victuals beginning to fail; he depended on the Governor of the Fort, who promised to connive at his passage, resolution was taken to fall down with the first easterly wind, and either to force a passage or perish with them. But this fitted not the temper of all our fleet, whereby the enemy had intelligence given, who presently weighed anchor, and towed out of the river in a stark calm, and came to an anchor at the river's mouth, where, not long after, they were strengthened with another fleet, of which the Resolution was Admiral. Being out of danger, they began to threaten the Brazil fleet; yet, through the persuasions of the Conde de Miro, who was told by them no injury was intended, the King sent forth that fleet, most being English ships freighted by His Majesty of Portugal. As soon as they were forth the river, they were summoned, came to anchor under command, and were made prizes. The King hereupon suspected the Conde de Miro, dismissed him for a time from his presence, the better to be assured of his fidelity; who not long after, by his creatures' means, palliating the matter, was recalled to Court, and employed as before, yet not without suspicion of the Parliament's officers, whose interest he had so highly [in disgrace] maintained. Certain it is, whatever his pretence might be, that he intended by weakening the fleet and exhausting the public treasure, to compel the King by necessity to comply with their demands, for in all his proceedings he expressed more of passion in their behalf than any consideration of the kingdom's affairs.[1]

---

[1] "Though the Prince did what he could by shooting, and all other means, to divert them from falling in among the English."

---

[1] He was afterwards recovered by Rupert.

"The King being now sufficiently disabused of their pretended friendship, began to arm his fleet for defence of his coasts, and security of commerce; whereupon Don Francisco de Pero and his faction, to ingratiate again with the King, seemed to be very forward in this expedition, although underhand they retarded all they could, in delaying our victual, and other stores necessary for us in this undertaking: nevertheless, through the care and industry of his Highness, our victualling was at last completed and embarked, their people not daring to act anything that might shew a face of guilt, fearing the Prince's vigilancy and inspect to their designs; but more subtlely to obtain their ends employed one [Vara Zon] *Pora John* to command the first fleet, who at his first council of war discovered their intentions, or at least gave caution what was to ensue, by urging his Highness to engage to lay the admiral [the Prince] aboard himself, a thing only in the hands of God, whom the wind and the seas obey."

---

[1] About this time I find the following pithy note in Thurlow's State Papers (written in Portuguese):—

FOR PRINCE RUPERT,

Hearing that Prince Maurice intends to sail from our ports with letters of marque against Parliament ships. I beg it may not be done.

23rd Dec. 1649. P. VIEIRA DA SILVA.

[About this time the following letters appear to have reached the Prince. The second "draws" upon Rupert's last prize as if it had been an ordinary investment made in the royal name.

THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE TO PRINCE RUPERT.

SIR,

Being informed, since your Highness's parting, that some new impostures are like to delude our sense, and give a total foil to all hopes of recovery, I thought fit to direct Bake, this bearer, to receive your Highness's commands, and to impart unto you what is not so fit to be hazarded to paper, since this appears, the stroke for the party, and probable conjuncture, that the use or misserving shall save their gain, or lose the whole; but, be as it will, all shall serve to confirm me still the further, sir,

Your Highness's most loving Servant,

Jan. 8, 1649-50. MONTROSE.

THE KING TO PRINCE RUPERT.

Right dear and right entirely beloved cousin we greet you well. Having already disbursed for the fleet a considerable part of those moneys which we intended for our own support and maintenance, &c., being now totally destitute of means to pay the debts of our dear brother, the Duke of York and our own, and to provide for the subsistence of ourselves and family we are no ways able to discharge the debts contracted at Helvoet Sluys for the fleet, and we intend, therefore, to provide for the satisfaction thereof out of the proceeds of the goods in the ship lately taken, if it prove good prize.

Given under our hand and seal, at the Hague, the 27th day of January, 1649.

CHARLES P.

FROM LORD JERMYN.

SIR,

I have written largely to my Lord Culpepper, for which cause I need not to trouble your Highness, the Queen doth desire to be excused to you, she hath had with more writing of late than she hath been used to, a defluxion in her eyes, which makes her not write now. Thus far I had written and finished my letter to my Lord Culpepper, and in this instant we receive the English letters which do more confirm me in the opinion of the necessity of the Princes going to the Scotch, for it is much to be feared, without his presence, they will not be able to support the work they will have upon their hands, but your Highness will see that I am not absolute in the opinion, but leave all to your wisdoms, which I pray God to direct and prosper. This now is all I shall trouble you with, I am most truly,

Your Highness's most humble, and
most obedient servant, HENRY JERMYN.]

St. Germ[ains, Aug]ust 19.

"Having now a fair gale, the Prince with the first opportunity let fly the standard, and weighed, desiring the Portugal admiral to do the same; but the anchor-fluke had so good hold, that we were fair up with the enemy before he set sail. The wind shifting to the offing, we could not engage them; but keeping our wind, we chased towards Cape Pilchar, the enemy doing the like, having the weather-gage of us. Night drawing on, and the wind slacking upon us, so that we could not weather the cape, we tacked, and stood for the northward, where, the tide of flood being spent, we came in six fathom water, near the Heckoups. Next day we weighed and stood to sea, fearing the surf upon the bank, plying to and fro in a fog before the harbour. The Prince descried the St. George, with the flag in the main-top, and two frigates to windward bearing with him. The Prince being clear, standing with the admiral, commanded not to fire one gun until he were aboard him; but, being within shot, his Highness's fore-top-mast was unfortunately shot by the board, which the enemy seeing, having spent their broadsides, tacked, and stood off to sea. The Prince being disenabled to work his ship, gave over the chase; the rest of the fleet were so far to leeward that they could do no good. The enemy being from the coast, and our provisions spent (which was but for fourteen days at our first setting out), the King commanded us into the river, where, soon after our being in harbour, the Portugal admiral's behaviour being known, he was divested of his command, and judged incapable of ever being employed. The enemy having spent some time at sea, returned to their former berth before the river's mouth. We victualled, and fitted new for another voyage, and as before the Conde de Miro, whose evil genius still waited on us, employed another of his faction in this second expedition, who, not less careful of his person than the former, being in chase of the enemy's fleet, dragged his sheet-anchor under foot, and being leagues astern, made sign with ensign, and fired a gun for the rest of his fleet to retreat. Nevertheless we continued our chase, with seven sail and two fire-ships, till the land being shut in, we espied from the top-mast-head twelve sail more coming to them, which, with the Portugal admiral's valiant action, caused us to retreat. Having spent some time at the river's mouth, we were commanded in, and the admiral rewarded as the former."

[COPY OF A LETTER FROM PRINCE RUPERT TO THE KING:
SIRE,

My last to your Majesty was by Choqueux, which I am confident, came safe to your Majesty, since which time there was not any occasion which did present itself, whereby I could give your Majesty an account of our voyage. But this your Majesty be pleased to remember our last resolution, which I sent by Choqueux, according to which we made for the North Cape, which latitude having made, we crossed to. And again, some forty leagues from shore, it happened that in the night, by a mistake of a light, all our fleet, except Sir J. Mennes', lost me. And, the next morning, a ship appearing, which we chased all day, but in vain, we were put to leeward of our first rendezvous, the Isle of Bayonne, whither we imagined our fleet had sailed. We therefore plied as much to windward as we could. Two days after, we made, early in the morning, seven ships to windward. We gave chase to them, and they to us, which proved to be our fleet. Marshall being come in with a prize, and my brother having taken another, made up the seven ships. Marshall's prize was a Newfoundland-man, out of which we took all her fish and fried the half . . . . In night, being moonlight, we made two great ships and a small vessel, which we immediately chased. In the morning, the Black Lady, the Black Knight, the Scott, and the Mary, overtook them. The small ketch bore up right before the wind, which the Black Knight gave chase, but in vain. The other two, being proved English, did not alter their course. Our small ships fell to work, which lasted from seven in the morning till almost ten, about which time their Admiral's main-top-yard and main-sail shot by the board, which stopped her way till my ship came up, to which she struck without a shot of ours: so, when she came within musket-shot of her, after which presently this other yielded also.

These prizes being considerable, and being fearful of some disaster, having near three hundred prize-men aboard us, it was generally thought fit to secure and sell them, with the first convenience to do, which no place was thought more convenient nor safe than Lisbon. The reason your Majesty knows whether we arrived; but, as we came within five leagues of Cascales Road, we took an Englishman, bound for Lisbon, which came from Brazil, which, wanting provisions, we were fain to take with us. To give your Majesty a particular account of our entertainment, which was with all civility, would but be a trouble.

I shall, therefore, go to the business. I had from the Secretary of State, at first, all the assurance of all assistance I could desire in all things; even the Brazil ship, as I am certain the King himself often expressed, should be totally at my disposal. So I went on with . . . . our commodities, for which I made a bargain, which, I verily believe, will yield 40,000*l.*; I hope more. What tricks since have been played in this business, your Majesty can hardly imagine; which, when I have a more convenient time, I will send to your Majesty's Secretary at large; which, when known, I hope I shall not more be thought impatient for the sale of our commodities. I hope I have passed the worst. And, for the other ship of Brazil, I have put the King here to it, either to command the ship from me, which he will not do; as, to give me an assurance which may serve me for a discharge that he has freighted the ship, which I am sure he cannot with truth. The answer is long a coming. In the meantime, I will unload the ship, and fit her for a man-of-war. Thus, our business hitherto. All the ships lie now between Belim and Lisbon, out of command, from whence either I will sell or carry the prizes, in spite of all this kingdom. I have one thousand two hundred men aboard. We are now re-victualling for four months' more. These ships will not hold. I hope to bring unto your Majesty who is victualler this next voyage; a very considerable sum before they are spent. All the want in our business will be intelligence from you.]

"The winter coming on, the enemy came no more to an anchor, but plied to the offing, in expectation of the Brazil fleet, which was bound home. Those who were now employed to victual us, being of the Conde de Miro faction, who, together with him, to manifest their faithfulness to our enemies, delayed us until part of their fleet was taken; so that his Majesty, knowing not whom to trust, seeing himself betrayed on every side, was necessitated to come down in person to the ship's side, and desire his Highness to put to sea, and endeavour the rescue of his fleet, which, with ten days' provision, was undertaken; but the enemy having their booty, stood in for Lucar [Cales], so that we found them not at our return. The King, having no more use of our ships, victualled our fleet, and fitted us with such other stores as were necessary for us, giving the Princes many thanks for their endeavours to preserve the fleet, and assured them of his friendship. Yet not long after, by means of the faction at Court, a peace was treated, and a cessation made between them and our enemies, conditionally that Prince Rupert's fleet should have no protection in his territories; so that now misfortunes being no novelty to us, we plough the sea for a subsistence, and, being destitute of a port, we take the confines of the Mediterranean Sea for our harbour; poverty and despair being companions, and revenge our guide."

"THE VOYAGE INTO THE STRAITS.

(MICHAELMAS-DAY, 1650.)

"The fleet being ready, we set sail from Lisbon, intending for the Straits. We spent some time on the coast of Portugal, to wait for a French man-of-war, that desired consortship with us for the East

France; but the wind being fair, and she not coming, we steered along the coast of Andalusia, where we met the Malaga fleet in the night, which being dark, we took but two of them, the Second Charles giving chase to the rest; who, not observing the sign of retreat, lost company of the fleet. We lay by all night, and next day, when missing the Charles, we made sail for the Straits, and stood in for our first rendezvous at Tetuan Road, to look for our man-of-war; but, not finding her there, we stood over for the coast of Spain, where we found the Culpepper at anchor under Stypion [Estepona] Castle; but before we could come up with her (knowing our ships), she hauled ashore, so that we could not lay her aboard. We spent some broadsides one at another, the castle doing his best to defend her; yet we disabled her for putting to sea, but could not fetch her. Having saluted the castle, we left her, and stood away for Malaga; his Highness intending to sail into the road by night, to surprise their ships, gave order to the captain of the Henry frigate to come to an anchor between them and the mole, to prevent their going in; but, unfortunately, the frigate being fair up with the road, some of the new men, by neglect of the officers, stole into the pinnace, and got to shore, and by that means ruined our design; for the ships being alarmed from the forts, drew all into the harbour. We lay before the road all night. Next morning came one of the King of Spain's galleys to view us; and after having hailed us, knowing who we were, saluted the admiral with his courser, and some other guns; they being answered, the castle and forts did the same, and he stood in for the shore. We thanked their salutation; and having a small gale of wind, stood off to sea having a handsome berth from the land. We stood along coast for Veles-Malaga. The next day being calm, and making English colours in the road, all the boats in the fleet were sent to tow our Vice-Admiral into an anchor. The English ship seeing him near, hailed ashore. The Admiral, and the rest of the fleet, having a small gale, were soon up with her. His Highness sent ashore to demand those English ships, as belonging to rebels, and some of them instruments to raise the tumults in England and cry out for justice against his Majesty; which the governor denied, desiring his Highness to do no act of hostility in the road until he sent to Madrid, to know his King's pleasure concerning the same, for until then he was bound to protect them.[1] His Highness having received this answer, returned word that if he did not deliver them up he would search his ships for them, for nothing should protect them; continued at an anchor two days, until he had fitted a fireship to send into the road; but they prevented that design, for, all things being made ready to sheer aboard with them, they, suspecting it was to board them, landing their best goods, set fire to their ships, and escaped to land by the light thereof. Which done, we fairly saluted the castle, and so set to sea before day, having a fresh gale of wind, to prevent them from knowing what course we steered; and, as before, having a handsome berth of the land, we stood along the Coast of Moutril, where we arrived the next day, and found three English ships; but, being to leeward of them, and night drawing on, we had no time to stand off to sea to gain the wind of them, but began to fire at them to hinder their hailing ashore. Yet, by the assistance of the country, who came in an instant with all the force they could make, they warped aground, under protection of their shot, and some small guns which they had landed. His Highness perceiving the fort to be in trenches, so that he could not beat them off, manned a caravel under the command of Captain Billingsley, and sent her aboard the weathermost ship, and the fire-ship aboard the middlemost. The caravel having entered her men, and finding the ship half sunk, and not to be brought off, set fire on all three. Having no more roads on that coast, we plied off and on betwixt Cape de Gatte and Cape Palos, where we met with the Second Charles and his prize, which she had taken in Tetuan Roads after two days' fight. Being both very leaky, his Highness sent them under Cape de Gatte to stop their leak, with order to come to the rendezvous at Formentera. In the meantime we plied off on Cape Palos, where [November 5th, 1650], by a storm, the Admiral and Vice-Admiral being separated from the rest of the fleet, standing in for land, met with the Marmaduke of London, bound from Archangel, in Russia, for Leghorn; who, refusing our summons, tacked, and stood towards Barbary shore. We gave her chase, and at eight of the clock the Vice-Admiral came up with her, and gave her a broadside; but, by reason that it was night, and a stiff gale of wind, durst not lay her aboard. Next day being stark calm, we began with her by break of day, and continued until eleven at noon; her captain being killed, and her mainmast shot by the board, the men called for quarter, and gave her up. As soon as we had possession we made Cape Tunis at twelve leagues' distance, and, having manned her, stood towards our rendezvous, to meet with the rest of our fleet; but they, contrary to order, in hopes of booty, stood in for Cape de Gatte, where they met the Parliament fleet, and were driven in the harbour of Carthagena, hoping to find protection there; but, contrary to the law of nations, the Spaniard suffered the enemy's fleet to take their advantage in the harbour. Our officers being not able to defend themselves, instructing their men, run their ships ashore, making them unserviceable; another having landed his ammunition, set fire on his ship, so as they were no ways profitable to the enemy; only the Henry was delivered, by treachery of the common men, before they came into harbour, having mastered the captain [Burleigh, of the Isle of Wight], and the officers. His Highness not finding them at the rendezvous appointed, and, ignorant of the disaster which had befallen them, left a packet of letters on shore, under a stone, with a white flag over it, to give them advice whither we were gone; the place being uninhabited, and no other means to give them notice. We directed our course for Toulon; but, being thwart the Gulf of Lyons by extremity of weather and a grown sea, the admiral was forced to bear up, and so, driven to leeward of, bear up for Sicily; the greatness of the sea hindered the rest from seeing light, by which means we were separated. Prince Maurice, not knowing what was become of his brother, and fearing the worst, stood in for his intended port [Toulon], where he arrived safely with his prize."

---

[1] Lords Clarendon and Cottington were at this time on a sort of desperate embassy at Madrid. They had been meanly neglected until it was known "that a royal fleet, commanded by a Prince of the Blood," was on the Spanish coast: they were then as meanly flattered. But, when a Parliamentary fleet, still stronger, came; the Cavaliers were denounced, and orders sent to all the ports to forbid Prince Rupert's access. Hence his hostility and profitable attacks upon their commerce, as well as the old quarrel of the Palatinate.

"THE PROCEEDINGS AT TOULON.

"Being within the great road of Toulon, the admiral ship of France, called the Queen, under the command of Chevalier Paul, was there at anchor, in regard the town stood for the Count Falaise, who at that time took the Prince of Condé's part; but not long after, in obedience to the French

King's command, went to Court, and made his peace. Prince Maurice was advertised by Chevalier Paul of those disorders that were in those parts, withal advising him to be very cautious of his person. These differences made his Highness much to suspect the safety of his ships in that place, not knowing what either party might do for its particular advantage; yet, being kindly welcomed by the pavilion of France, and forts of the town, it removed some part of this suspicion; likewise receiving kind messages from both, each striving to outdo the other in civility, made him hope to accomplish his desires without difficulty. His Highness received divers visits from the magistrates of the town, and from the officers both of the forts and navy, each offering him their service and assistance in anything that lay in their power. His Highness made use of their offers, and procured leave to buy a mast for his prize out of the King's stores. This outward courtesy persuaded his Highness to accept the reality of their promise; but, not long after, the heat of their compliment being over, the surveyor of the stores stopped the mast ashore, under pretence that the King's ships wanted masts, and that he durst not send it aboard without the Admiral's leave. This was a plot of the town merchants, thinking thereby to force his Highness to sell the prize at an underrate in that port, rather than to hazard it in another; but this took no effect, for, having no lawful pretence to hinder the adjudication of it, such merchandize being much required in those parts, and knowing there was no more to be expected that year, the merchants having time to repair to us from all places, strove to outbuy one another, so that retarding our sail benefited our market.

"The magistrates of the town solicited his Highness daily to come ashore; who, as yet, through grief for that sad separation from his brother, had not gone forth of his ship, yet, by persuasion of Chevalier Paul (the difference betwixt the King and the town being compromised), promised to go ashore, hoping by his presence to procure what by his messages he could not. The day appointed for his landing being come, and all things in readiness for his reception, it pleased Heaven to remove all obstacles of sorrow by the happy tidings of his brother's safety, who came that day to an anchor in the same road, and went to shore together, to celebrate that happy rencontre. I need not express the joy of their embraces after so long and tedious absence, with the uncertainty of either's safety, wanting expressions to decipher the affectionate passion of two such brothers, who, after so long time of hardship endured through the malice of enemies, the raging of wind and seas, now found themselves locked in each other's arms in a place of safety.

"They were received at landing by Chevalier Paul and the Lieutenant-General of the Galleys, with all the officers both of town and navy, who accompanied them to the town-house, where, all the way as they went, they were saluted by the galleys and fleet, and being over against the town-house, the artillery round the town did the same. The consuls received them at the door with much ceremony; both magistrates and people expressing their welcome with great exclamations of joy. The ceremonies being ended in behalf of the town, they were conducted to Chevalier Paul's house, where they were magnificently treated. At their return the galleys and ships discharged as before; the whole communality solemnizing that day in public assemblies, where they daily received visits from the gentry both of town and country; who with great civility assured them of their service.

"The sale of our prizes being now concluded unto the Leghorn merchants, we began to deliver our goods; which spent us much time, by reason of some difficulties which the merchants made concerning the payment of the monies, whether they should immediately pay the whole sum before the delivery or after possession had of part of the goods. It was concluded, for security of both parties, that the bargain should be inviolably kept on each side; first, that they should deposit a considerable sum in his Highness's hands, which should not be counted until the last payment, which might, in case of revocation, make good the penalty, and as they received the goods to pay the monies; which was accordingly performed, to the content of both. During this time, his Highness dispatched a gentleman to the

Duke of Vendôme, then Admiral, to procure his licence to furnish our fleet with such stores as were necessary for their repair; which he very willingly permitted. The messenger being returned, and our prize delivered, we began to careen our ships, and fit the prize for a man-of-war. While we were thus fitting for a summer voyage, the captain [Burleigh] of the Henry, who was delivered up by his men, having obtained his parole, came to Toulon, and brought us the sad tidings of our lost fleet, which was until then unknown to us. Soon after came the rest of the captains that lost their ships at Carthagena, and, by endeavouring to excuse themselves, impeached each other; so that, without examination, the truth came out by their exclamations. Most of them laid the fault on Captain Allen Elding, who had been put in the Charles prize: he having promised the captain of the Second Charles to second him in the rescue of one of our frigates, that was then engaged, broke his word; for, the Charles bore up, expecting the other would do the same, but he, more careful of his booty than his honour, clapped by a wind, and stood in close-hauled [away for the harbour of Carthagena] for the harbour; which probably was the cause of their loss. The men of the frigate seeing their prize stand in, forced their captain to do the like, which pleaded for him not guilty; as indeed all his actions had spoken him a person of faith and courage. His Highness, being within another Prince's port, would not use the extremity of a court-martial, although the crime carried its sentence with it. The captain of the Henry was accused by the rest to have insinuated himself into Blake's [the Parliament's General at sea] favour by giving him intelligence of our rendezvous. He pleaded that, being surprised and confined by his men, his instructions being in the cabinet with the rest of his papers, they were taken and made use of; so that if they knew our rendezvous it was no fault of his. This accusation was highly urged by all the officers, most of [them] agreeing in one thing; yet nothing could be proved positively against him, saving his too much familiarity with the enemy's General, which gave his Highness just cause to suspect him, and credit the accusation; yet, by reason his accusers stood likewise charged, and their proofs not very clear, but rather savouring of malice, his Highness only banished him from the fleet, judging him incapable of ever being employed in his Majesty's service. The captain of the Charles brought in great proof against the captain of the prize, which certainly would have condemned him to death; but, the day before that of his appointed trial, by connivance of some friends in the fleet, he made his escape, by which he cleared the rest, the whole blame resting on him, and they accused of no considerable matter; yet, for formality, they were called to a council of war, and reproved for not following their orders. This being past, his Highness, seeing himself reduced to three sail, strained the utmost of his treasure, and bought another, which was named the Honest Seaman; and, being but weak in ships, endeavoured to be strong in men. Before his levy was perfected, an English gentleman, called Captain Craven, who had a ship at Marseilles, took commission under his Highness, and joined with the fleet, which being at anchor with the rest of his fleet, was named the Loyal Subject. Thus, with a squadron of five ships, conceiving all disasters past, he fixed his resolution to take revenge on the Spaniard. To which purpose, the fleet being in readiness, his Highness, to amuse his enemies, dispersed a report that he was bound for the Archipelago; inquiring of such as he suspected for enemies the best advice for that purpose, whereby to oblige the adverse fleet to seek after him, and leave the Straits open; which took so good effect, as most of them remained about Cape Corsica, and the rest went into a harbour to fit for a summer voyage.

"THE VOYAGE OUT OF THE STRAITS.

" His Highness being ready, set sail for the coast of Barbary, and having made land, stood along the shore for the Strait's mouth; where, being disembogued, we took a Genoa ship of good force, bound for St. Lucar, although intended for Lisbon, her double bills of lading being found; she was made prize by way of reprisal, in lieu of a caravel of ours, taken by the Genoese in the Straits, and *partly through the clamour of the seamen*, who, in a tumultuous manner petitioned her confiscation, *being bound for a Spanish port;* we then stood along the coast of Andalusia to Cadiz and St. Lucar, where we spent some time before those harbours, in expectation of ships, but took none, until sailing towards Cape St. Mary, we met with a Spanish galeon bound from the Indies to Cadiz, which we surprised by putting out the Parliament flag, as their confederate.

"The officers, conceiving us their friends, came aboard, who might else have run their vessel ashore, being betwixt us and the land, and sailing better than we. Having landed the Spaniards, and manned the ship, we stood for the Island of Madeira, under command of the Portugal, where we sold part of our goods; the rest we took into our ships, and left the galeon there, as being unserviceable. The Princes were received with much kindness, and assisted with anything the island afforded for refreshment. The Governor and the officers of the island waited on them aboard, assuring them of their service, which in every respect they performed to our great advantage. His Highness, as well to encourage as to gratify the Governor's civility, gave him a visit in the fort, where he entertained them with great respect, and having accompanied them to the sight of what was worthy seeing on the island, returned with them to the sea-side, where at setting off he saluted us with all the artillery of the fort and town. But while we enjoyed these welcome freedoms and correspondences with strangers, the seeds of malice and discord were sowing among ourselves, for some, by insinuating themselves too far in his Highness's affairs, discovered his intention for the West Indies:—the design his Highness undertook as being the only means for our security, and the probable way to advance our fortunes, many of those parts having (in hope of our assistance) declared themselves for our interest, which undoubtedly would have been the cause of strengthening ourselves, relieving them, and made a change in the condition of our affairs—making our enemies wait our motion at a vast expense, whilst we securely might have made ourselves masters of the seas. But this agreed not with their dispositions, whose private interest drew their inclinations northward, to which effect they endeavoured to raise factions in the fleet, whereby to make void and ruin that design, to bring their own to pass. His Highness, in pursuance of his former resolves, having refreshed our men and taken in provisions, stood away for the Canary Islands, where he spent much time in visiting the Roads, but finding no ships, and judging if that we might take any, it would not countervail the expense of time and provisions, called a Council-of-war to communicate his intentions unto them of going more southwards, thereby to demonstrate his will, that all actions might be managed by general consent, lest some pertinacious minds should deprave his worth by imputing all casualties to his improvidence. This precaution was advised, yet succeeded ill, for they being forewarned of his intents, resolved to undo his design by all the means they could. It being proposed in council to sail to the Cape de Verde Islands, to new victual, secure from storms or enemies, it was carried by the negative, alleging many frivolous arguments to the contrary; the major part siding with it in regard few of them knew the place, or had been so far southward; and some made it their business to engage some officers by fair promises to balk the design, although they formerly approved it. His Highness not being advertised of this combination, was surprised to find such a sudden change in the resolution of his Council, and fearing the effects that this averseness might produce in the giddy multitude, consented to their vote, which was declared for the Isles of Azores, concluding that to be the fittest place to victual in: giving out likewise that there we might meet with the English East India fleet. But they neither considered the extremity of the weather subject to those places, nor the time we were to consume in victualling, we were of necessity to receive it as a courtesy from others, and not well assured of obtaining it, though with the greatest difficulties. Yet to avoid the censure of self-will and rashness, he stood for those Islands, although he foresaw part of his ensuing disasters. In our voyage thither, by stress of weather, we lost company of the Honest

Seaman, who missing us, stood for the appointed rendezvous; but our separation was not long. The first land we fell in with was the Island of St. Mary; the weather being slacked, from thence we stood for St. Michael's, where we began to take order for our victuals.

" THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE WESTERN ISLANDS.

" As soon as we were at anchor in the Porto del Gado Road, in the Island of St. Michael's, having saluted their fort, they returned us thanks, and the Governor sent some officers to welcome his Highness, who brought with them a present of refreshings according to the custom of the country, and to assure us of all the assistance the island could afford; his Highness returned him thanks, and at their departure gave them guns. The next day his Highness sent one of his gentlemen to give him thanks, and to present him a considerable quantity of such goods as our prizes could afford, which was kindly received, that gentleman being reconducted to his boat by the officers of the island, and at his putting off, was saluted from the fort. His Highness having spent some time in that road to take order about victuals, the Governor came in person aboard to visit him, and with expressions of great kindness invited the Princes to come ashore, assuring them that himself and the whole island should receive it as a great honour: at his departure, the Prince gave him nineteen guns, and the fleet proportionably, as he passed by. As soon as he landed, we were returned thanks by all the guns of the fort. His Highness, being desirous to preserve so considerable a friend, went on shore to visit the Governor, who gave him a gallant reception with all the soldiery, and having waited on him to all the monasteries and places of note, desired his Highness to use his freedom there, by taking what recreations he pleased and the island afforded; the night approaching, his Highness returning to go aboard, was accompanied by the Governor and all the persons of quality, both civil and military, to the sea side, when, at his setting off, the great artillery both of town and fort saluted him, and all along the shore volleys of small shot. Being thus assured of the Governor's friendship and assistance, he left such persons ashore as were necessary for his victualling, and stood away for Terceira, where we met the Honest Seaman. As soon as we were freed of the land of St. Michael's, we descried a Spanish galeon about three leagues' distance from us; the sea being calm, we put forth our galleries and towed our ships towards her; at length by force of hands we fetched her up, who at first summons surrendered. She was bound from the West Indies to St. Lucar in company with the former which we took, but by extremity of weather in the Gulf of Mexico was separated, and losing her mast was forced into Porto Rico; being now in the Road of Angra in the Island of Terceira.

His Highness received a compliment from the Governor, by which he offered him the assistance of the island, but standing on his gravity, or which is more likely, being of the Conde de Miro's faction, came not aboard himself to pay that respect which was due to so great a person. Nevertheless, his Highness made use of his proffer, and treated with some English merchants about victualling his fleet, both with wine and flesh; which being agreed upon, his Highness stood again for St. Michael's. Being athwart the opening of the island, we met with such foul weather as we could hardly bear our course, yet, fearing the land, we strained hard to keep the seaboard. In this unfortunate gust, the Admiral sprung a leak, that they could hardly keep her clear with one chain-pump. The next day, the wind slacking, we stood into St. Michael's Road: as soon as we were at anchor we strove by stitching of bonnets to stop the leak, but could not, by reason we knew not certainly where it was. The Governor sent a diver aboard his Highness to search for it, but to no purpose, for there being no harbours, we could not unload our ship, nor trench the bales so low as to find it out. His Highness stood for Terceira to hasten his business there, that being the greatest part of his victual which he was to expect; resolving once more to propose the southern voyage to his Council, hoping they would consider the necessity of the fleet as well as their own interests, and tracing the divisions to the very centre whence they derived, endeavoured to smother them. But they whose souls were seized with a fatal cancer, suffered their undigested venom to overflow like a raging billow, to the destruction of us all. So high was their insolence, that they infested his very domestics, and so public their improvidence, that they concealed not their intentions in their cups, making private meetings in their cabins, where they conceived it convenient to engage any man to their faction, until his Highness, full freighted with such contempt of their audacious proceedings and actions, commanded some of their cabins to be pulled down, with further order to the captain of his guards not to suffer any meetings after setting the watch, nor candle to be lighted betwixt decks, but in such places as were appointed for the ship's use. So great and violent was their distemper that he feared the private communication of his men; our provisions not yet being made, we were forced out of the harbour by stormy weather, being clear of the land, we lay a try under our main course, hoping that the weather slacking, we might stand into the Road to ship our provisions; but the wind increasing, and our ships labouring in a ground sea, the Admiral's leak increased so much that both the pumps could hardly keep her free, which forced them to bear up before the wind, hoping thereby to ease the ship, but the leak being far under the holdings, strained the more.

"The Vice-Admiral and the Honest Seaman bore up with them, and kept as close as the water would permit, the Spanish prize being far in our weather-quarter; the Revenge, having more care of her than the Admiral, kept her wind. While we thus stood before it, we gave her over, and took in our mainsail, as before. Whilst we thus laboured with disturbed winds, as well as distempered seas, heaven frowning on our disorders, suffered us to fall into that fatality which we strove to prevent. Men may propose, but God will dispose; for, the Admiral's pinnace, being too large to be hoisted in, was moored astern with two halsers, and was forced from the ship by rage of the weather. The Vice-Admiral being likewise surprised by the storm, and endeavouring to hoist in her boat, sunk it by the ship's side. These were sad presages; for, three days after, the wind being rather enraged than abated, the ship straining hard, started a butt-head, which added so much water as no pumping could keep her free. They continued firing off guns, to give the other ships notice to keep near them. This disaster befel them about six in the morning, keeping that rate until about ten. By force of hands they gained upon the leak; and, endeavouring to stop it within board, thrust down one hundred and twenty pieces of raw beef into it, and stanchioned them down. This gave them some hopes of life; but it lasted not long, for the ship setting hard, drove in the stanchion, and sprang the plank; so that now, being past hopes of recovery, they made a waft with the standard at the flagstaff-head, to let us know their condition, and began to heave their guns overboard, to lighten their ship, but all in vain, for the water gained so fast upon them that they could not stand in the hold to bale, the casks rolling to and fro, beat them from their work. Notwithstanding all this they strove, with cheerful resolution, to the last, without hope; for, the wind was so high, and the sea so overgrown, that no ship dare to approach near for our assistance, lest they should perish together. From the Admiral's deck they waved[1] the ships so confusedly that they knew not what to do. The Admiral's mainmast being cut by the board, the Honest Seaman ran aboard on the weather-bow, expecting some of them would save themselves upon it, that he might be ready to take them up; but, their resolutions being to die together, not one endeavoured to escape. His Highness waved his brother, Prince Maurice, under his stern, desiring to commit such things to his knowledge as was fitting to declare before his death, resolving to perish among his men. Prince Maurice bearing under his stern, and being sadly sensible of his brother's ruin, was not apprehensive of his own, but commanded his master to lay him aboard, resolving to save his brother, or perish with him; but the officers, in mutinous words, refused to obey him in such a case, and not without reason, declaring to him the certainty of their own destruction, without any hopes of assisting his brother. The Princes endeavoured to speak one to another; but the hideous noise of the winds and seas overnoised their voices. Prince Maurice, seeing himself deprived of his interest, persuaded his officers to fit a small boat which he had aboard to procure his brother's safety; which they seemed to do, but were long about it. During which the Admiral's men, perceiving his Prince's resolution to perish with them, were not only content to die, but to do some brave act that might eternize their fame, by outdoing all that ever was done in the like exigent; and, like souls of a new stamp, preferring the General's safety before so many lives of their's, having a small boat left, beseeched his Highness to secure them, by preserving, if possible, himself. But he, unwilling not to share in so eminent a death, and scorning to be outdone by inferiors, thanked them for their care, yet refused their offer, although his fate were clothed in a more horrid shape; assuring them, as they had run all fortunes with him, so in this last he would participate with them. Thus did either strive to breathe their last in unspeakable magnanimity.

---

[1] *i. e.* "Signaled." This was on the 30th September, 1651, as appears from Captain Fearnes' report. He commanded the Admiral, and accepted of safety, whilst his heroic comrades refused to leave their friends. I must not omit the following passage from his relation touching this brave story:—"We resolved, however, that the ship to be our grave, and every man very well resolved to die; and the minister told us that as many as would receive the sacrament he would administer it, and desired that we would give him notice that when we saw that we were past all hopes, to come to the place appointed, there to receive it and die together."

His men, seeing supplications would not prevail, having selected a crew of undaunted lads, hoisted out their boat, and by force put him into it, desiring him at parting to remember they died his true servants. Being from the side, they rowed aboard the Honest Seaman, which was the nearest ship. His Highness being aboard, sent back the skiff to save as many as they could, only nominating Monsieur Mortaigne, Captain Fearnes, and Captain Billingsley. Fearnes accepted the offer, and was saved aboard the Vice-Admiral, with Mr. Galloway, his Highness's servant. No sooner were they put aboard but the skiff sunk by the ship's side. The other two, choosing rather to die among their soldiers than save themselves. This fatal divorce from faithful friends and servants touched his Highness very passionately, who, endeavouring their safety, although with hazard of his own, commanded the men at the helm to edge towards the Blake, hoping thereby to enter their men on his bowsprit.[1] But she was so full of water that she could not stir a-head; so that, being past all hopes of having means to escape death, they prepared themselves for it. Taking a sad farewell of their friends, by making sorrowful signs one to another; yet all this could not move the Vice-Admiral's men to so much charity to hoist out their boat to save any of the rest; which savoured more of malice than excusable judgment, although they pretended several excuses. Thus these distressed persons kept the ship above water until nine at night, and then, burning two fire-pikes, to give us notice of their departure, took leave of the world, being at that instant one hundred leagues south and by east from the island of Terceira. In this wreck perished 333 men, whose actions speak their merit. The severest censurers will confess it a hard matter to set a full value upon so generous a crew. The wealth in her was very considerable, yet made little impression in his Highness to the loss of the men. The next day, the wind beginning to slack, Prince Maurice fetched his brother from aboard the Honest Seaman unto the Swallow, when, overladen with the grief of so inestimable a loss, he returned from the Western Islands. Concealing himself for a time in his brother's ship, fearing if his loss were known it might prove prejudicial to his designs in those parts; the governors of those islands being very timorous, considering merely by outward speculation things as they appeared, and might, upon knowledge of so great a disaster, have changed their resolutions. The first land we made was the island of Pico, bearing N.N.E. from us. We stood into the road of Fayal, where we met the Revenge and the Spanish prize. To welcome his Highness after his sad loss, he saw the ruin of another of his ships, called the Loyal Subject; which by storm was driven from her anchors, and cast upon a rock, where she staved. Thus was his spirit alarmed with misfortunes, and kept waking with new troubles. Having spent some time in that road, to refresh ourselves, and take in part of our victual, his Highness received intelligence of a Spanish galeon, which was driven to extremity of famine, was at that instant treating at the island of Pico to surrender themselves for victuals, being ready to starve aboard, having fed upon dried hides fourteen days, which, with sugar and ginger, was their lading from Hispaniola. Whereupon we despatched two frigates towards that road to make demand of part of her lading for the King of England, according to the custom of the sea, that being an open road, and no ships there to protect her; but before our frigates arrived she was delivered up to the Portuguese; yet not being assured thereof, continued plying about the road. The Portuguese, fearing our ships might attempt something upon their prize, sent to the governor of Fayal to desire Prince Maurice to command off his ships, Prince Rupert being as yet concealed. The Prince sent one of his gentlemen with the captain of Fayal Castle aboard the prize, to inform himself whether she was delivered before the appearance of our ships; which, if it were, to acquaint the captain that it was his Highness's pleasure they should return to the fleet. The gentleman, following his directions, went aboard the Spanish ship, and did according to his orders; for, finding it to have been delivered up before our ships appeared, took the captain of the castle along with him aboard our two frigates, that he, being present at the declaring of the Prince's order, there might be no capricious mistake. Our captains offered him their assistance, which he accepted. Whilst we thus assured him of our friendship, our ships stood nearer in to lend them any aid they could require; but to our amazement they fired at us. The captain of the castle went aboard them, and pretended to give notice of our civility; but being with them, they continued firing at us for an hour, making what haste they could to hail the Spanish prize to shore; so that, by casting her away, they might covertly take the goods, and lay the blame of the wreck upon us. Which the captain of the Honest Seaman perceiving, by seeing a halser seized on land for that purpose, fired at their warp, to prevent their destroying the ship, but they continued until they had hauled to shore. The gentleman that was sent from the Prince, endeavouring to make things clear betwixt us, as being sensible how necessary their friendship was, rowed towards them, to know a reason of their shooting at his Highness's ships; who made no other answer, but waving him from them, fired guns at him, one with case, the other with round shot. Yet he resolved to speak with them, rowed ashore; where he was apprehended by a company of foot, and conveyed to their officer, who, instead of reasoning the matter, after several affronts committed him to the custody of the fort. The captain of the Honest Seaman, seeing him not return, bore into the road; but finding it not possible to relieve him, fired some guns at them, and with the Revenge stood away for Fayal. In their way, they made a ship to the offing, which they followed, and being fair up with her, gave her their chase guns; but she, standing towards the island, put forth her Portugal flag, which gave us occasion to desist from pursuing. Yet this gave occasion of cavil to the governor, who was the rather willing to justify his officer's actions by how much it concerned his profit to make prize of what was best in the ship, and conceal it from the King, his master. Upon the embroilment they imprisoned all our officers which were on land, employed about the ship's victualling; and by night brought that gentleman and put him into Fayal Castle, where they intended to keep him until they might acquaint the King of Portugal what they had done, or pleased to do herein, having no adversary present, either to dispute or confute their complaints. Prince Rupert, foreseeing that these disasters might prejudice much his affairs by continuing unfriendly disputes, and being in no capacity to revictual his ships without their permission, whom he knew to be the Conde de Miro's creature, discovered his being there, and withal demanded his people, assuring the governor he should be very much contented to continue their former correspondence, and the friendship betwixt the King of Portugal and himself, and that he would bury all injuries past, in case things might be reduced to their former estate: if not, he would endeavour to recover his men by force, and would write the King of Portugal a particular of the affronts he received. The governor, surprised at this unexpected news, with the sharpness of the message, immediately freed the prisoners, and sent them aboard, rather complying with the Prince's demands than hazard his head by making a breach of his master's friendship.

---

[1] His Highness having promised the men to do his utmost to save them, made them steer directly for the Admiral, which had then one small sail left, and coming near her that sail blew out of the bolt-ropes, so that the Honest Seaman, having all her standing rigging made more lee way, and so could not fetch her.

"Matters being thus palliated, although with difficulty, we took in our victuals, and having unloaded our Spanish prize, left her hulk there as a wreck, for want of men to man her. Having thus far accommodated our business, we stood away for Terceira to do the like there, but being at an anchor before the Road, we understood our provisions were stopped there upon intelligence given them of our dispute at Fayal, until such time as they were thoroughly informed of all that had passed; when being fully satisfied of their reconciliation to his Highness, our provisions were sent aboard, which done we took our leave of that place and stood for St. Michael's to take in such bread and other stores as were ready for us, resolving to make all dispatch that might be from those islands, to find some secure place to careen our ships in, since the sudden change in their kindness gave his Highness reason to suspect what appeared afterward too true; which was, a treaty betwixt the

King and our enemies. Thus, by the averseness of a few factious men, we were tossed from one misfortune to another, whilst our enemies, neglecting no opportunities that might contribute to our destruction, despatched a fleet to the West Indies to prevent our designs. Upon knowledge of this other expedition, his Highness departed from those islands, hoping to careen his ships, and come time enough to assist his friends in the Chariby [Caribbee] Islands; to which purpose, having found his former designs crossed by faction in the council, sent his secretary to the officers of every ship to require their opinion immediately in writing, which way was safest for their preservation. This ingenious forecast prevented the malicious intent of such as endeavoured to cross his design, for being thus separated and required to give their result apart, no one knowing the other's resolution, his Highness found the major part of his opinion, so that he who was the author of the faction, finding himself outwitted, took occasion to pick a quarrel with the master of the Admiral, whereby to have the more just pretence to quit the fleet, the Prince being unwilling to harbour a smothered fire, which being not carefully tended, might unexpectedly prove a dangerous flame, consented to his departure, and having so far finished his business, took the first occasion to go his southern voyage, hoping to recover lost time.

"THE DEPARTURE FROM THE WESTERN ISLANDS.

"His Highness having learned too lately by dear experience that the unsettled and self-interested minds of some people had occasioned the former factious and unreasonable divisions, the fleet was disabled from prosecuting any fixed resolves to prevent the succession of any the like, resolved to commit no more of his weighty and secret affairs to public and unprofitable counsel, but rather to pass all decrees from himself, being only fit to retain and dispose things of so great concernment; and having now disposed of those vapours which interposed betwixt our hopes and us, began anew to seek our fortune in the ensuing voyage. Having spent much time in the Western Islands in victualling our fleet, with the forementioned difficulties, his Highness mistrusting the friendship of the Portuguese, having received those injuries from inferior commanders as also receiving intelligence that there was a free trade betwixt our enemies and them, resolved for the Canaries, hoping to meet some prizes that might recruit us with rigging and other necessaries for the ships, of which we were in want, and not to proceed in our design without it: but fortune intending to cross him with winds and weather, the general English fleet was passed before we could recover the height of the islands; so that seeing small probability of the weather's changing, his

Highness stood away for Cape Blanco, in the Kingdom of Argin in Africa, coasting upon Guinea and under the obedience of the Sant of Sale, where, finding a very good harbour, and naturally secure, also far from Europe, he resolved to fit our ships there, where few or none come save such as are distressed by leaks or the like mishaps in their traffic southward. The first land we fell in with was Cape des Barbas, from whence we stood along the shore to Cape Blanco, where we came to an anchor and continued there that night.

"THE PROCEEDINGS AT CAPE BLANCO IN ARGIN.

"The wind blowing fresh, we weighed with the tide of flood, and plied up for the harbour, but not knowing the channel well, and finding shoal water, we came to an anchor: fearing a bank, which lies south-east of the Cape, within a league of the shore, where we descried a small Dutch vessel within the harbour, continuing at anchor all night. The next day came out a shallop from the ship, that rode within to view us, she came so near that the Admiral's pinnace, getting the wind, brought her aboard. His Highness took new berth, and kept her all night to pilot him next day. The ship, seeing her boat not return, suspecting us for enemies, set sail by night, and got away between the land and the east side of the bank. The next day we stood in for the harbour, where we came to an anchor in four fathoms water near the shore; his Highness, having rewarded the pilot, dismissed him to return to his ship which was at a small island called Argentine, under the command of the Dutch, twelve leagues distant from the harbour. At his going off he agreed with the master of the Admiral to bring deal boards, and such other things unto us, as were necessary for careening and sheathing our ships. We began to set up our tents on land to lodge our goods in, while we heeled the ships on ground to make them clean. The country being barren, there was small likelihood of refreshing our men, saving that the harbour was stored with plenty of fish of all sorts in great abundance. His Highness was desirous to have spoken with some natives, that, if possible, we might trade with them for cattle, and such provision as the country afforded, but could by no means prevail, until an accident enforced them to it, being, at the sight of our coming in, fled up into the country.

The inhabitants were a kind of banditti, who, refusing to pay tribute to the Sant[on] of Sale[e], secure themselves in that sandy desert. They observed the Mahometan law, and are governed by the eldest of their family, whom they obey as Prince. They are tawny of complexion, habited in vests, after the Turkish manner. Their arms are darts and lances, which they use with great dexterity and skill. They lodge in tents, and remove with the cattle from place to place to find pasture for them, whose milk is their only sustenance and support for drink, there being no fresh water in the country. They assuage the cattle's thirst with the inlets of the sea, knowing no other refreshing. We were long in this harbour before any means was offered to speak with them, by reason of their wandering course of life. The 1st of January his Highness, with one hundred men, marched into the country, resolving to find them out. About six leagues distance he met with a track, which led him into the middle of their tents; for, the morning proving extreme foggy, we were upon them ere aware of us. Upon the alarm they all fled, leaving their tents and flocks of sheep and goats behind them, to the number of above one hundred; which was a seasonable relief, the milk being their chief sustenance. The Prince endeavoured by all means to speak with them; but, seeing no peaceable motions would prevail, shot one of their camels. The rider soon got upon another, with which he saved himself and wife, but for haste left a man-child behind, which by fortune was guided to his Highness as a new year's gift.[1] The poor infant, embracing his legs very fast, took him for his own parent. The Prince, to secure his booty [of cattle], sent them before, towards the harbour, and marched softly after in the rear, dividing them into small parties, to entice the natives to rescue their loss. The Moors drew up together, and marched after us at a distance; but we could not engage them, the country being champaign [sand-hills], and they mounted on camels. They, seeing no probability of taking stragglers, having followed us to the sight of our ships, sent out two of their men with a flag of truce; who, with much ado, came within hearing of some that were left behind, to know their desires, but would not adventure nearer than to hear one another. They requested his Highness to permit them to treat with him touching the child and their cattle, which was granted. They promised to return in two days from their camp about it: so they went back, and we to our fleet. The 3rd of January they appeared on the top of a sandy hill not far from our tents, from whence they desired a hostage for the man that was to come to us. His Highness, unwilling to hazard any man's person, would not command one forth. The Prince drew forth his foot, and, having set his guard, sent a soldier, who offered himself, for hostage, and received their man, who proposed nothing to the purpose we expected, which was to trade with them, but he was very desirous to have the child, expressing great sorrow for the loss thereof. His Highness, suspecting they had some treacherous design in hand, gave command, on pain of death, that no man should pass without the guards. Nevertheless one of our men, over-curious to his own destruction, not regarding the order, stole behind a cliff, and got beyond the limits; which the Moors perceiving, set on and slew him before our men could endeavour his rescue. Having thus broke truce, and, conscious of their villany, marched away with main speed, the Prince, highly incensed, committed the hostage to fifty musketeers, and pursued them with all speed; but to no purpose. We found the blood of our men, but not their bodies; by which we conjectured they had thrown them into the sea. Whilst we were thus busied to find out their track, the hostage, fearing his life should answer this outrage, boldly attempted his escape, which, being very swift of foot, he effected. The guard fired, and out of fear he dropt twice; yet he recovered his feet, and, being acquainted with the country, passed a flush of water, and gained his companions. We followed him within sight of his company; but, night approaching, and our men tired, his Highness gave over the pursuit, and returned to the harbour; and, as he drew off, left ambuscades to entrap them, if it might be; but they, having compassed their design, kept at a distance. His Highness, seeing no good to be done, caused his men to come off, and so returned to the fleet. The next day arrived the shallop from Argin, with such provisions as had been agreed for. The man, being punctual in his promise, was employed a second time for a small recruit of water and such necessaries as the island could afford us;

---

[1] This is the first mention I have met with in these papers of January the 1st commencing the new year, instead of the 25th of March.

and withal to propose to the master of the ship a voyage for France, which, if he would undertake, then he was to come himself, and make agreement about freight: he accepted the offer, brought his ship and took in his load of ginger and sugar, which his Highness sent to his Majesty. By this vessel the Prince dispatched the following letters:—

PRINCE RUPERT TO KING CHARLES II.

King.
Duke of York.
Sir Edward Herbert.
Moqueux.
M. de Soulere.
Madame de Bregi.
De Mapelle.
Queen.
Lord Jermain.
Mr. De Burges.[1]

SIRE,

By several ways I have given your Majesty a general account of our good and bad fortunes since we left Toulon, but fearing some, if not all, may have had worse fortune than I am confident this will, I have a more particular relation to Sir Edward Herbert of both, to which I could add many more particulars, to shew your Majesty how I have been hindered, a design which truly I had hopes to do you most eminent service, but, sire, I shall leave this until I have the happiness to be nearer your Majesty. In the meantime I have sent an order on Mr. Carteret with some goods, to pay the debts of your Majesty, I made at Toulon, and some other which belong to me, my brother, and the seamen, the proceed of which I have ordered to be put into Sir Edward Herbert's hands, your Majesty for yourself or your brother's necessity, be pleased to command what you please of it. In such case, I dare say, that there will be none among us which will grumble at it; all I humbly beg is, that Sir Edward Herbert may receive your Majesty's commands by word of mouth, or under your own hand, and your Majesty be pleased to look upon us as having undergone some hazards equal with others, had it pleased God to preserve the Constant Reformation, I had loaded this vessel with better goods. RUPERT.

---

[1] The names stand thus at the head of Prince Rupert's copy of his letter. They appear to be the names of those to whom Prince Rupert wrote, or intended to write, by the same despatch.

What our ship's company desired
me to say to the King.

This letter seems to have been accompanied by the following one to the Chancellor of the King's exhausted exchequer, but they are both without date.

PRINCE RUPERT TO SIR EDWARD HYDE.

SIR,

Pitts, Watts has given you a relation[1] of most passages, yet not so particular as I could wish might come to his Majesty's knowledge. The loss of the Constant Reformation is perfect to the particulars of her losses, among which, her lading was not the greatest to me, though of good value. Dr. Hart's and Pitts' papers, besides some which were written to the King of Spain's Council, of all his business of his West Indies, stick most with me. Most [of these] I have perused, and have found in the latter enough at any time when there shall be instruments to anger, if not undo his said Majesty. St. Domingo had, and has not above two hundred soldiers in it, unfortified and all open. Judge you whether our design of going thither had not been feasible. I had almost forgot to tell you, that all the prizes which I took this voyage have been adjudged by Dr. Hart, except a little New England man, which was taken since his departure. If I can come handsomely to the Barbadoes, and they join, I may, perhaps, go on; when it is done, it is done. I need not tell you of more. I sent one Mr. Carteret with some goods consigned. As you shall find, he is no witch, and is to do nothing but by your order. If his Majesty, or the Duke of York, be in necessity themselves, pray *dispose of all to what they shall have need of* for their own use, I mean after the debts I made at Toulon are satisfied for the fleet. I wrote word so to his Majesty.

---

[1] See Appendix for this relation.

RUPERT.

Apparently from Mr. Pitts, enclosing his relation:

TO THE EARL OF CRAVEN.

MY LORD,

The enclosed I left in this place to be sent by way of Lisbon, but at my return, either find them in the governor's hands and no vessel departed, so I put them to a second adventure, hoping they may at last find your lordship, and give you an account that since the writing of the other letters we have taken three English ships; one of them a Plymouth man of twenty-two guns, bound for the West Indies, but her chiefest goods was wine, which came seasonable for our men; the other two ships were salters, and only supplied us with provisions, so that now we are indifferently well fitted, and got up to five good ships and a fly boat, which we have victualled here.

God Almighty make our voyage prosperous, that we may return with comfort to all his Majesty's friends.

Were I ascertained that this might find your Lordship, I would have enlarged myself, but now I shall but only tell you that through more difficulties did never Princes steer.

God Almighty prosper us to make a good voyage to answer their Highnesses' expectations; which I well know will be most welcome news to your Lordship, and a comfort to his Majesty and their Highnesses' friends, that have long looked after our success; what shall happen I will not fail to present your Lordship with; desiring I may deserve from your Lordship to be styled

My Lord.

May 5, 1652.
Copy of letter to Lord Craven, by the
Madeira merchant going to voyage.

The ship being dispatched, and our fleet almost ready to put to sea, the Prince resolved to take his farewell of that place, by seeking the Moors out once more. For this purpose he sent Captain Robert Holmes, with sixty men to land six or seven leagues to east south-east of the Cape; whilst himself, with one hundred more, marched on the other side, and so dispersing themselves into small bodies one in sight of another, drove the country homewards, yet found the track of their whole caravan which had passed further into the land; this we followed three leagues, but then being past hopes of finding them, returned; the next day we broke up a small unserviceable vessel, and set fire on the hulk, resolving with the first [fair wind] to sail further southward.

"FROM CAPE BLANC TO THE ISLANDS OF CAPE DE VERD.

MAY, 1652.

"Setting sail from this harbour, we shaped our course for the Islands of Cape de Verd; where we hoped to meet with booty, the time of year drawing on for traffics that way. The first land we fell in with was the Island of Saul, where we came to an anchor in the south-east road, and continued there some days in expectation of the Newfoundland fleet, who constantly repair thither for salt; hoping by them to recruit ourselves with sails and rigging, those ships being commonly well stored with such necessaries. His Highness went ashore to see if the island could afford us fresh water, but finding none, we conjectured that to be the reason of its being uninhabited; no other defect being in the place, nature having been otherwise profuse in bestowing thereon a salt pan, which may be reckoned among the wonders of the world. It contains about forty acres of ground, being environed with mountains, by whose reflection the salt is baked harder and better than in any artificial manner, affording it in abundance all the year, being nourished by salt springs issuing under those hills from the sea, so that it requires no other labour but fetching what nature hath by a liberal hand provided for the whole world. Our water beginning to fail, and finding ourselves aforehand with the season, we stood away for the island of Bonavista, not far distant from Saul. The wind blowing "Trade," we arrived there the next day, and came to an anchor in the weathermost road, where we found very good watering. This island is more spacious than the other, and is inhabited, although with but few people, by reason that the Portuguese are divided into many plantations so far remote from one another, as they cannot supply them all with fresh colonies of their own nation; which, to make good, they buy negroes from the coast of Guinea, and mix them with the white men in all those territories. Moreover, the islands, having no commodity for exchange in trade, doth not invite merchants otherwise than to water, when bound for the southward. It is abundantly stored with wild goats, which is a great refreshment to all comers, either for East, West Indies, or Brazil. The inhabitants are about one hundred in number, of a mulatto kind; their habits and language being Portuguese, and the goats afford them both food and raiment, being clothed with their skins. They have a natural defensive fortification on the top of a high hill, from which promontory they discover the sea round the island. It is not easily accessible, for the steepness; having but one narrow path, and that through the rocks. In this place they treasure up their best goods; and, upon sight of any ship, make their retreat thither, suspecting all, and yet, not refusing to trade with any, which, doubtless, is their security. Whilst our water was providing here, his Highness being on shore hunting of goats, there appeared to the offing a great English ship, with a ketch following her. She stood near the road, and having made our ships, knew us not, by reason of our colours; but made into another bay, where she had intelligence who we were, and straightway she made sail for the island of May. We could not presently give her chase, by reason our cask was on shore, which we could not quit; but, making haste with many hands, we got them aboard. His Highness, having consulted his officers, resolved to away as soon as it was dark, and follow her; but, being clear of a ledge that lies before the road, suspecting that, being out of sight, she might keep her wind, we did the same all night, standing to the eastward. The next day we stood for the Isle of May. Having a handsome berth between the lands, we slackened sail, that so we might have drift enough all that night, intending to fall in the road early next morning, that in case she put from her anchors, we might have day enough to chase her. By break of day we were fair up with the land; but, falling into the windward of it before we could get to the road, she descried us, and was under sail. She fired three guns, to command some of her men aboard that were hunting for the company; but before they could return she was forced to leave them: her ketch remained behind, to take them in, and in our chase came thwart the Admiral, hoping he would have delayed time in speaking with her, whilst the ship might have gotten away. But the Admiral, not regarding her, pursued her chase, and left her to the other ships; and they, being far astern, she was gotten over to the coast of St. Jago before they could come up. The Admiral got upon the ship all the morning, till he came within a little more than shot; but they, having trimmed their ship about one in the afternoon, stretched from us apace. His Highness, perceiving it lost labour to pursue further, gave over the chase, and slackened sail to bring his fleet together. We lay by all night, and the next day stood into St. Jago's Road, where we came to an anchor, and began to take order for recruiting of victuals, that being the best provided for of all the islands. This land is great, and well-peopled, but mostly with negroes; that being the support of their Guinea trade, and the protection of the neighbouring islands, as likewise a receptacle for the Brazil and East India fleet, which, going and coming, touch there to refresh. The Portuguese have a town in this road bearing the name. It is strengthened with divers good batteries to seaward. The road is very deep, which enforceth all ships to ride close under their batteries and fort before they find anchorage; the fort is situated upon the highest ground near the town, very well furnished with artillery and magazines, answerable to a place of so great consequence. As soon as we were at anchor salutations with great guns passed on each side.

"The governor sent his deputy to welcome the Prince thither, assuring him of all the assistance the island could afford. His Highness returned him thanks, and accepting his offer, set his pursers ashore to provide for his fleet. The next day the governor sent a present of all sorts of fruits the country yielded, as lemons, oranges, plantains, bananas, water-melons, and the like.[1] The Prince, in return thereof, sent next day, by one of his gentlemen, a present of commodities our ships could afford, which was kindly received. Thus, having continued for some days in exchange of civilities, the governor gave the Prince notice of some English ships trading to Guinea, and fortifying themselves in the river of Gambia, offering his Highness both pilots and soldiers to guide him up the river, and strengthen him for attempting their fort; this kindness he thankfully accepted, and, having shipped the pilots, and received a caravel full of soldiers, stood directly for Guinea. The caravel lost us that night, the weather being fair, so as it could be interpreted no otherwise than a wilful action, which made us suspect it was a design upon our fleet; yet, having the pilots aboard, we resolved to see the event. After four days' sailing, we fell in with Trefisco Road; but, the land lying very low, we could not see it. Yet, finding smooth water, the master imagined he was near, and caused to heave the lead, and finding but five fathom water, tacked, and stood off to sea until day; then, making the land, we took a handsome berth, and stood along the shore for the river of Gambia. Where, being arrived, and mistaking the channel, we were forced to chop to an anchor in so shoal water, that we could hardly fleet free of our flukes. The Admiral came foul of hers, but got no harm. We continued there till tide of ebb, to sound for the channel. His Highness took his pinnace, and sounded near the shore; where, being open of the southernmost point of the river, he descried a small vessel of ten guns at anchor, with a Flemish ensign at her poop, and a strange flag at the main-top-mast head; but could not discover what it was. The Prince, not finding the channel, returned aboard; but one of his captains that accompanied him staying behind, found means to speak with the master of that vessel, and brought him aboard the Prince, who made known unto his Highness he was in the Duke of Courland's service, and that the fort there building belonged to the said Duke; and withal, finding us friends, gave us notice where the English ships were that traded in the river, and offered his service to pilot us in. The

---

[1] From this island Prince Rupert wrote the following letter to the King of Portugal. The generous and courageous kindness of that monarch deserved acknowledgment, and our Corsair Prince seems to have been as keenly susceptible of kindness as of injury:—

COPY (IN THE PRINCE'S PAPERS) OF A LETTER FROM HIS HIGHNESS TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

SIRE,

Since it hath been my fortune to arrive here, I have thought it meet to acquaint your Majesty, that your governor, Don Jorge de Mesquita de Castello Baranquo, hath used me with great civility, for which I give your Majesty most hearty thanks, desiring your Majesty would be pleased to esteem of what he hath done to me; and, moreover, by my coming hither I have met with an occasion to serve your Majesty, the whole design your governor hath promised me to acquaint you with at large. Upon his word I undertake the business, because by him I am assured that I may not only advantage your Majesty, but also benefit and preserve your subjects, which is the earnest desire of, sir,

Your Majesty's most humble servant,

St. Jago Island, March 2, 1652. RUPERT.

Prince accepted his offer, and with the first of flood new berthed in the middle of the channel, and continued there all night. Next day he weighed anchor with the flood, and stood into the river. There we took a small English ship called the John, which was bound to trade along the coast to Cape Mastras, where we took a negro, who was their interpreter, called Captain Jacus, with the governor's son of Portodale, to whom his Highness gave liberty, and treated them kindly, which proved much to our future advantage. Having manned our prize, we came to an anchor by the Courland ship, resolving next day to clear the river. This night the Duke of Courland's governor came to tender his respects to his Highness, and to acquaint him how matters stood in the river, and to assure him of his assistance and the fort's, in case of necessity. The Prince thanked him, and at his departure gave him guns. After this we sailed up the river; and, being informed of a Spanish pink of ten guns, and an English ketch, that rode at Tulfrey, over against the Courland fort, the Prince manned his prize apeak, under the command of one of his gentlemen, and sent her close to the shore, she drawing but little water, to lay the Spaniard aboard. But, as soon as they made us open of the point, they slipped their anchor, and sailed through betwixt the island where the fort stands and the main, on the north side the river. Being over against the fort, they saluted us with all their artillery. His Highness returned thanks, and followed his chase. We took the Spanish pink; but the ketch got into the river Vintaine, which is a small arm out of the side of the river Gambia, where their Admiral lay, with a pink of eight guns, to take in such merchandise as the place yielded; it being also a reasonably healthy place, they stayed there to expect the return of their barges, which they had sent up the river to a gold-mine not long before discovered by that company, but had as yet cost more than they got. It being low-water, we could not follow the ketch; but were forced to stop that tide. The next flood the fleet weighed to enter; but the Admiral, being like to touch upon a bank that lies off the east point, was forced to drop his kedge, so that he lost that tide. Prince Maurice got in; but, by reason night drew on, he came to an anchor. Prince Rupert sent the captain of his guards ashore, with forty men, to prevent the ship from removing, by overcowing their men from handling their sails; but they, quitting their mooring, made use of the tide, and drove in further over against the town of Bintan. The next day, while the fleet weighed, Prince Maurice stood up with their Admiral, and, after some guns given, promising them good quarter, and the captain his freedom, took both her and the pink. There was some dispute made by them after surrender, by reason their merchant was not included in the conditions. The Prince, to avoid censure, offered them their ship in her former freedom, and so dispute it by force; but they rather obeyed the first conditions than hazard their lives. Notice was given by a negro where the ketch lay hid in a creek. His Highness sent his pinnace, and fetched her off; and, having manned her, put her under the captain of his guards, and sent her to find out another small vessel which was going higher up the river, while the prizes took in the rest of our goods; but the natives understanding them to be our enemies, and the reasons thereof, were glad of the Prince's arrival, and, hoping to gratiate with him, cut off those people of the ketch we went to seek. His Highness, abhorring to countenance infidels in shedding Christian blood, signified his displeasure thereof through the Portuguese living among them. Our people being as high as Elephant Island, which is about fifty leagues up the river, finding themselves prevented, returned to the fleet, which they found watering at Tulfrey. This place is too considerable to pass over without particular observation. I shall, therefore, make a short relation of its situation and traffic.[1]

The island is low and even, a very fertile soil, well peopled, and stored with provisions and traffic, both good and in abundance. They have divers sorts of wild beasts, which are not unprofitable to them, as the elephant, tiger, leopard, monkey. The natives affirm that there are many unicorns in their country, relating their shape, and how they go, accompanied with other beasts, to the water, who will not drink until he hath dipped his horn therein. The river's extent is three hundred leagues, by report of the Portuguese who live there, and of the English who went to discover the mine, which is almost at the end thereof. Many other considerable rivers vent themselves into this; and some report there is an arm of it crosseth the main to the river of Senegal which makes them two communicable; which must convince those who think to assure their traffic, without planting a considerable colony. This mine is reported to be a firm rock of gold of a great bigness, which might countervail the greatest charges as may be expended in finding of it. But, whether it be so or no, certain it is that the first discoverers were so satisfied, as they never used the sea afterwards. The common traffic here is in elephants' teeth, wax, hides, and ambergris, which they exchange for bars of iron, coral, crystal, amber, beads, blue cotton cloth, manillos of brass, and strong liquors. They adore a divinity, and incline somewhat to the Mahometan law; but, as every canton hath a peculiar Prince, so have they several sects among themselves, conformable to the opinions of their Princes, yet they all agree in their national government and customs of their country; which sheweth that their policy is not bound up to particular interests. The commons bear an obsequious reverence to their superiors, which I observed by divers occasions among them, and shall touch upon one that may conclude the rest to be alike. The King of Gillifry's brother and his son came aboard to visit the Prince. His Highness made them very welcome, and caused chairs to be brought forth for them to sit on; but they excused themselves, and would by no means accept thereof. His Highness requiring the reason, they answered, the King sat on such, and therefore, they being unworthy, would not sit thereon; besides, it would be accounted a crime in them. They are very severe in punishing such as transgress the rules of morality, which I observed by a law among them, that if any man made a lie which tended to the prejudice of the commonwealth, he is presently made a captive, and sold to the next Christians that trade with them. This law makes them keep their words inviolable; which sheweth they incline to a civil government. His Highness having cleared the river, the time of year drawing near for their tornados, which are excessive storms of wind and rain, which begin in these parts in the month of May, and continue until the end of July without intermission. Our ships being not in condition to oppose such boisterous weather, we thought a certain security better than to hazard the fleet by staying for the return of their barges with their treasure; therefore, the fleet being in readiness, we broke up the Spanish pink, being unfit for service.

---

[1] The Prince undertook to lead a squadron to this coast in 1661, and to establish a trade there. A company was formed for this purpose, with a capital of 40,000*l.* The King (Charles II.) objected to the risk of Prince Rupert's life in such a climate, and Captain Holmes was sent in his place. For an account of this voyage, see Appendix.

Having disposed of her lading, and left her hulk and some guns for the Courlanders' use, we fell down to the river's mouth with the rest of the fleet, where we came to an anchor, and continued there that night. Before we parted from Tulfrey, Prince Maurice quitted the ship he was in, and went into the great prize, conceiving her to be the better sailer; the Vice-Admiral's flag being saluted, she was named the Defiance. We left this place, and plied-up to Cape de Verd, to get the wind of those islands, where we were to take in our victuals; but being over against Reatch, which is a small town lying to the south of Cape Mastras. Missing some of his ships, the Prince came to an anchor, and, having the afore-mentioned Captain Jacus on board, hoped to gain some refreshment from the shore while he stayed there to bring his fleet together. At our arrival the people seemed to be friendly, trading with us for such things as the country did afford, both for sustenance and profit, and coming daily aboard us without any suspicion. Some of them stole off in one of their canoes a sailor of Prince Maurice's, a native of that place, who lived long among Christians, and was become one himself; but upon promise of the others that he should return aboard again, he went with them to visit his parents. His Highness resenting this as a great injury, yet cautious to adventure his men against these heathens, endeavoured by fair words to procure the surrender; but, finding that not to take effect, resolved to fetch him by force, or take a just revenge. To which purpose he put one hundred men into the ketch, which he commanded himself, and sent a small boat to find a secure landing-place within a salt creek that runs close by the town; but the sea [surf] going high, the boat was cast away: the men got to the shore, unto whom the negroes began to gather in numbers. His Highness, suspecting they might receive injury, immediately commanded one of his gentlemen, Holmes, whom he had formerly employed, to take the yawl with him, and some musketeers, to endeavour their security, which he strove to have done; but, being near the shore, the greatness of the surf brought home their grapnell, driving the boat to land, and overset her, leaving the men in as bad a condition as the former. By this time Captain Jacus, seeing a tumult on the sands, came towards them with his friends; where, finding our people in such an estate, caused what things of theirs could be found should be restored, and took them up to his house, where he gave them kind entertainment. His Highness, being unsatisfied with these ill-successes, commanded the captain of the guards to take the pinnace and row close to the shore as high as the town reached, and try if he could bring off our men; and, in case Captain Jacus came along with them, to row aboard the Admiral; but if not, to come directly to him again.

The captain went, and gained them all aboard; but mistaking his orders, told the gentleman that it was his Highness's pleasure to bring Captain Jacus along with him, who went ashore again with only one man to effect it. In this space, one of their canoes being off at sea was taken by Prince Maurice's pinnace, and unfortunately by a shot one of the negroes in her was slain; which being perceived by them ashore, they seized upon the gentleman and his friend, and kept them under a strong guard. The captain returned to his Highness and told him what was fallen out, who, extremely moved at this disaster, resolved to bring them off or perish, being by him employed; which argued a princely resolution and encouragement to the whole fleet, in seconding it by his actions, whereby he spared not to hazard his own person: nevertheless, finding them inclinable to treat, he thought it safer to hearken thereunto than adventure his people. Captain Jacus having got some off clear, hoped to do the same by the rest, and promised faithfully to endeavour it. One day passed in expectation, and nothing was done; next morning his Highness went in his pinnace near the shore to treat with them about it, giving orders to the several ships to man their pinnaces with store of men; and in case of such a sign given, to make towards him with all speed; and to the Vice-Admiral, in case of a contrary one, to let go the canoe. The Prince, anchoring near the shore, had conference with some by Captain Jacus, who told his Highness they desired to see their canoe clear from our ship, and then they would send the prisoner aboard. His Highness made the sign, and it being done, and Captain Jacus perceiving his countrymen's treachery, ran down to the sea-side, and desired, if possible, to retake her, for that they intended to keep the gentleman prisoner. We gave her chase, but before we could fetch her up, she was got to shore. The Prince came to an anchor within half shot, and began to fire at them, making sign for his pinnaces, resolving to land as soon as they came up. By this time the shore was covered with the natives, who very bravely defended their coast with resolution. They sent a considerable party of men into the sea, as high as their necks, to impede our landing; who, as soon as they saw us present at them, dived under water to avoid the execution of our shot; and then appearing, gave us a volley of arrows: thus we exchanged shot in expectation of our pinnaces, until one of their arrows unfortunately struck his Highness Prince Rupert above the left pap, a great depth into the flesh, who called instantly for a knife, and cut it forth himself. While we were thus disputing, Prince Maurice's pinnace rowing by the town of Reatch, the greatest part of the negroes being against us in another bay, Captain Jacus gained a party of his friends together, and conveyed the other prisoner aboard the pinnace; which act being both an example of gratitude and fidelity, may teach us that heathens are not void of moral honesty. Our prisoner being safe aboard, we rowed to our ships: the fleet being all come together (except the pink, which being supplied with new men, for the most part mastering the officers, carried her away), his Highness sent to give Captain Jacus thanks, assuring him if he would make his escape, to take him in at Trefisco Road, and to reward him for his faith and pains; but he, wishing us good fortune, presented his humble service to the Prince, saying he had done nothing he should need fear to justify. The boat returning aboard with this answer, we weighed in the night, and plied for Cape de Verd, where conceiving ourselves sufficiently to windward of the islands, we stood for them to perfect our business there. We fell in with those lands betwixt Bonavista and May, but being to leeward of the first, we stood for the other, where we found in the weathermost road two English ships, which we took to be frigates, appearing to us at a distance very snug, with taut masts; but coming nearer, we found them to alter very much, the one being a high-carved ship, and the other a fly-boat. They quitted their anchors, and stood away to the southward; but being clear of the land, the greatest lay close hauled, to whom the Admiral gave chase, and the Vice-Admiral to the other, who, bearing her top-sails aloft (the weather freshening upon them), sprung her main-topmast, which forced her to put before it, and trust to her head-sails. The Vice-Admiral followed her until he was open of St. Jago's Roads, but then seeing that he rather lost than got upon her, fearing to be too far leeward of his port, gave over the chase. The Admiral, about shutting in of night, came up with the other, who at first summons surrendered herself: having manned her, we lay by, putting forth many lights, and making false fires for the rest of our ships to see us. About nine at night we came altogether, saving the Vice-Admiral and the Honest Seaman who stood into St. Jago's Road. The next day we stood for the Isle of May, and came to an anchor in the weathermost road; but finding little fresh water, his Highness left the Revenge there, and stood himself, with the rest of his ships, into the leemost, where we found very good watering. Four days after, there came into the weathermost a Hamburger, with two English fly-boats, who came to an anchor close by the Revenge, supposing her a merchantman, most of her guns being within board. The Admiral having notice of them, stood for the other road; but being apprised of it, the captain of the Revenge had already commanded the English masters aboard, and made them prizes.

These ships gave us notice of others that were at the Island of Sal, with which his Highness resolved to speak; and having manned his prizes, sent them with the rest of his ships to St. Jago's, and kept only the Revenge with him upon this design: but plying to windward, and being clear of St. Nicholas and St. Lucia, the captain of the Revenge having (by persuasion of the merchant we took in the river of Gambia) been too covetous of new men, fetching a long stretch to westward, while we stood in the eastward, was overmastered, and carried to England. The Prince, being ignorant hereof, plied up still for the island, where we found only one ship in the south-west road, who had topmast struck, and yards a-portlings; but by reason of night we did not lay her aboard. The next day, having discovered what we were, she set sail and stood for the westward: his Highness gave her chase, but finding her sail much better than he, his ship being foul, gave her over. The Prince missing the Revenge, suspected her disaster: but not knowing what course they steered, we stood for Bonavista, to inquire if they had touched there; where not finding her, we gave her over for lost, and stood for the Isle of May, We stayed two days in that island to make an end of our watering. The second night there appeared a ship to the offing; but the master making her to be a caravel, would not give her chase. This proved to be a Spaniard bound for St. Jago to trade for negroes, having yearly licence to trade thither. He came to an anchor in the road called Laproy, where being affrighted with the report of Prince Rupert's being on that coast, he landed thirty assenegos-load of plate, which the Governor of the place having in possession, confiscated to the King of Portugal's use, notwithstanding their licence to trade thither. Having made an end of watering, we stood for St. Jago with the rest of our fleet. His Highness was very kindly received there, all being according to his expectations. One of the prize-master's mates having endeavoured to betray his trust, and good evidence being brought against him, was condemned by a council of war, and executed the same day. The provisions being ready, we took them in, and slighted [dismantled] one of the English fly-boats, being a slug: his Highness bestowed the hulk upon the religious people of the Charity. Thus, having finished his business, he made a handsome present to the governor in acknowledgment of his civilities, and took his leave of those islands.

THE VOYAGE TO THE INDIES.

"We set sail from St. Jago, directing our course for the Caribbee Islands, resolving to begin with the weathermost, and so visit them all by degrees, hoping as yet to find them our friends. Being by our account within fifty leagues east from the Island of Barbadoes, we made a ship to the southward of us, to whom we gave chase; but bearing hard for it, the Admiral sprang so great a leak abaft that we had much ado to keep her free by baling: the limber holes being stopped, the water could not come to the pumps; so that in this extremity we were forced to give over our chase, and put before the wind to trench our bales, that the water might have free passage. Thus being in confusion, we overran our reckonings, and passed Barbadoes in the night without seeing it. Next day, about sun-set, we saw land to the westward, which proved to be the Islands of Granada and St. Vincent. Being past our intended port, and no possibility of beating up to it without great hazard of our ships, we stood for the Island of St. Lucia to seek some means of stopping our leak, it having increased very much upon us, and our men being almost spent with extreme labour. This night we lost company of our fly-boat, who taking in too much of her sail, and observing the Admiral's light, flagged to leeward. The next day the fleet came to an anchor under Point Comfort in the said island, where by stitching of bonnets we stopped our leak, insomuch that we gave over baling to the great ease of our men and comfort of us all. We spent four days in this road to take in fresh water, here being a very good river and convenient watering. This land was formerly inhabited by the English; but their numbers being small were cut off by the Indians, and their dwellings laid waste. The place is spacious and fertile, well stored with wood and water, and having divers fresh rivers in it; and on the leeward side two very good harbours. It hath also great store of wild hogs, goats, and other provisions. The French pretend to this island, as well as to the two former of Granada and St. Vincent, being neighbours to the Island of Martinique, which they possess, but cannot the other. By degrees we found out our leak, and made shift to stop it so well that we spared one of our pumps. The General of the French upon Mettalina, *alias* Martinique, as soon as he heard of the Prince's being there, sent a shallop with divers of his officers to welcome him to those parts, to assure him of his service, and what else lay in his power, and withal to invite him thither. His Highness, having refreshed his men, stood for that island, where he met with a fleet of Dutch men-of-war, who, with the forts of the island, saluted him with abundance of great ordnance. Our ships having returned thanks, the captains of the several ships came to tender his Highness their services, who, having received them very courteously, at their departure gave them guns. As soon as they were returned aboard, the whole fleet gave thanks. The French General sent his Deputy-Governors aboard the Prince to confirm what his other officers intimated unto him, and to give him notice that the English islands were all surrendered to the Parliament; so it was now resolved to visit them as enemies. His Highness gave him kind welcome, and sent a gentleman to visit the Governor, and render him thanks, and withal to let him know the present time would not permit him to receive his courteous offer, but he should endeavour a grateful satisfaction for his kindness when it should present itself. The gentleman was accompanied back to the sea-side by the officers, and at his putting off was saluted by the forts. This island is far larger than any of the neighbouring ones: very fertile, abounding in provisions and traffic, the chiefest whereof consists in tobacco, which for the goodness is preferred before that of the other plantations. It is inhabited by a considerable colony, which defends both that and their title to the other islands, being befriended by the Indians, who daily trade with them; by which means they bring some of them to use their customs, and acknowledge them their proprietors. This place were much more to be esteemed were it not for the abundance of serpents that it is troubled with; yet the inhabitants by degrees find means to destroy them, so that now they have not many upon their clear ground. Having despatched our business, we set sail that night for the other islands, resolving to coast them all along to see if we could meet with any English or Spanish traders. Next day, being over against Dominique, which is inhabited by Indians, they came to us with divers Periagos to trade, and brought us divers sorts of fruits for refreshing, which we exchanged for glass beads, and such like commodities. They are naturally inclining to a tawny complexion; but to avoid the stinging of the merry-wings and mosquitoes, they anoint their skins thick with a red paint, which they call *rockow*, in which colour they think themselves very fine; having broad and flat faces, their hair black and hard, which they wear very long, with two locks before: they bind up the rest behind like women, in which they commonly wear a mackaw's or parrot's feather, with a string of fishes' teeth about their neck: some bore holes in their noses, lips, and ears, in which they hang brass rings. The French that trade amongst them report they worship the devil, who sometimes speaks to them through a wooden image; and, if any time displeased with them, they are soundly beaten, but know not by whom, which ever aweth them from turning Christians. They are naturally of a revengeful nature, persecuting injuries to the fourth generation, whereby they are in perpetual war. Breach of word they hold the greatest crime. They are extremely jealous of their wives, but not of their daughters: perfidious to all strangers. Nature provides them food, their country being stored with fruits of many sorts, with fish and fowl in abundance; and many strange creatures, as guyanas, armadillos, land-crab, and the soldier. This last is so called from having the fore part armed with a shell like a lobster; the hinder part being naked, which he hides in other fishes' shells, and as he grows in bigness, shifts his cover. Their coast is likewise well stored with tortoises of divers sorts, their flesh serving for food, and their shell for traffic. Their bread is cassava, which is made of a root, out of which they squeeze the juice, and after grate it, and then bake it on a stone like a cake. Our commodities for traffic were beads, glass, coral, cristal and amber, penknives, looking-glasses, bills, hatchets, saws, and strong liquors, for which they exchange tortoiseshells, fine cotton yarn, and green stones, which they bring from the main-land, having many virtues in them, as curing the falling sickness, and easing women in labour, others to dry their milk, being merely worn about them. They have many sorts of gums and balsams of great esteem, which nature bestows on them without labour; only the green stones they make with clay under water in what form they please, which, by the virtue of the sun, is changed, and becomes so hard a substance as can hardly be broken. Their arms are bows and arrows: they have another weapon, which they call *boricon*, which is a piece of iron-wood, being extremely hard and heavy; they make it an inch thick, three inches broad at the one end, and six at the other. When they kill any man with this club, they leave it beside him, that it may be known who did the act: they never carry them but in time of war. They reckon their seasons and ages by moons, having no knowledge of other times.

"From hence we sailed to the Island of Guadaloupe, which is inhabited by a considerable colony of French: it yields the same commodities as the former. This government lays claim to Dominique, Todos los Sanctos, Marygolent, and Grantare,[1] all which are not yet inhabited by Christians. His Highness came not to anchor, but sent his secretary ashore, who being returned, we stood for Montserrat, inhabited by the English, where we arrived the next day, being Whit-Sunday, 1652. We sailed to windward of it, and came about the north point, where standing into the old road, and finding no ships, we bore up to Nevis; but a small French ship that consorted with us for her security, put forth her flag as a sign of ships, which made us tack and stand for the other road, where we took two small vessels. We anchored there till night to man our prizes, and prevent them from knowing our course; but his Highness finding one of the ships to belong to one of the King's friends, restored both ship and goods. This is esteemed the best island for sugar: it makes little of any other commodities, only some tobacco to windward, which is valued more than any other of the English plantations. Night being come, we stood for Nevis, where we arrived on Whit-Sunday, the Admiral, leaving the rest of the fleet astern a league for fear of discovery, fell in by break of day with Pelican Point. We sailed into the usual road, where were great store of ships, who, having made the whole fleet, began to shift for themselves, some endeavouring to escape by sailing, others by running to shore. His Highness laid the fairest aboard, being close under the fort; which endeavoured her security, but in vain; for being entered, we straight brought her with our shot, and with our pinnace fetched off another that was hauling ashore. They spent divers shot both from fort and ship, but we lost but one man, which was his Highness's secretary, being killed close to him before the Vice-Admiral and the rest could get in. Their ships were fast aground, so as we could bring no prizes off. They exchanged shots freely, and seeing no good could be done, we steered for St. Christopher's. His Highness Prince Maurice only lost two men, being his master and a volunteer. We got into the French road, called La Bastare[1] Road, by eleven of the clock, and sailed from thence along the coast for the old road, where the English inhabit. Being fair up Stone's Point, the fort, having advanced the Parliament flag, began to pay us hard. His Highness luffing close to it, received their shot, and returning them his, passed into the road the whole fleet during the night. But the Prince perceiving theirs to be hauled close to the shore, and their cables chained, knew nothing was to be done there, for fear of being becalmed, the land lying very high and they close under it, so as we must expose our masts to the malice of the fort guns. These considerations kept us from going further, but passing by them we exchanged broadsides, and so came to an anchor in Sandy Point Road, on the French ground, where his Highness was kindly saluted by their forts and visited by their officers. The Prince new berthed and stayed two days. In the night we weighed and came to La Bastare Road again, where his Highness intended to stay some time to provide himself with necessaries. As soon as we were at an anchor the forts saluted us, and the French General sent aboard to welcome the Princes: the Princes returned him thanks, and the next day sent a gentleman to repay his visit, and to desire permission to take in water, which he very willingly granted; but proposing other matters which might have been for his advantage found him averse to it; which made us conclude there could be no certain security in case of danger in regard of the strict league betwixt them and the English, and therefore we resolved to quit that road with the soonest. His Highness fortunately found there some Dutch men-of-war, who had taken a Portuguese ship bound for Brazil with provisions, which they exchanged with us for prize goods.

---

[1] Now Saintes; Marie-galante; Grenada.

---

[1] Basse-terre.

"Having finished our business, we sailed to the Virgin Islands to careen our ships, where we came to an anchor in "Dixon's Hole," otherwise named "Cavaliers' Harbour,"[1] where we unloaded the Admiral, and fitted her for the careen. We were here three days before we could find fresh water; and fearing the want thereof, his Highness sent the Sarah to Santa Cruz to water the fleet, where she met the pink we lost off St. Lucia, which by foul weather was driven so low: they returned together to our harbour. Her officer, having given an account of his voyage, was employed back to the same place to procure cassava-roots out of the ruined plantations to help our victuals; but the ground being overgrown, he could find but few. While we were fitting to careen the Admiral, the carpenters were sent ashore to cut stanchions and bars to haul down by: some of them, being new men, got possession of the pinnace, and leaving the others ashore, ran away with her to Porto Rico, an island inhabited by Spanish, near the place where we were. His Highness knowing their intelligence might do us injury, provisions growing very short, was enforced to retrench our provisions, allowing to each man four ounces of bread per diem; and the like of all other viands, and himself no more; which abstinence of his made every one undergo their hardship with alacrity.

---

[1] Now called "Rupert's Bay."

These, which are called Virgin Islands, are many, lying within a league of one another, through which goes a sound, in length eighteen leagues, that hath in most places twelve, fifteen, twenty and twenty-five fathoms' depth, and good anchorage everywhere, having in most of them very good harbours, besides the sound: they are not inhabited, by reason no small party dare adventure, having the Spaniards for too near neighbours. The harbour we careened in was very spacious, clear, good, and very well land-locked, but somewhat small at the entrance: as you sail in, it is good to borrow of the larboard side, where you have twelve fathom. In the channel there is a rock on the starboard-side, which is somewhat dangerous to come near; but being within, the shore is bold enough in most places. There are several creeks within, where you may bring a ship's side to the land, and careen by the trees, having four fathom water close aboard it. Our business finished here, we burnt the Sarah, the John, and the Mary, being all unserviceable; and disposed of their goods into other ships, and passed betwixt two islands to west of it, called the Passages: hauling close by the wind, we stood into twelve degrees, the wind blowing trade at east-north-east: betwixt that and the north-east, we tacked to weather those islands. We stood to the southward until by computation we were within twelve leagues of the island Anguila, bearing south and by east from us.

There began a stress of wind at north, which they call in all those parts a hierecane [hurricane]; it forced us to take in all our sails, except the main-course, with which we tried until eight of the clock; but then the storm increasing tore our sail from the yard, though of new double canvas. Rolling now in the trough of the sea, we strove to set our mizen to keep her up, but as soon as the foot was open the sails blew quite away, so that being destitute of all human help, we lay at the mercy of God. Being near a lee shore, and the weather so thick, we could not discern our ship's length before us, the bolt-ropes and running rigging keeping our men from the deck, so as they could not stand to any labour; but the Divine Providence taking compassion on us in this helpless and deplorable condition; being twelve of the night, within half a league of a high rock, called Sombrero; we guessed afterwards that we drove betwixt that and an island called Anguilita (where never ships were known to sail before) without seeing or knowing anything but the general calamity and danger; being between the land about one in the morning, although unknown to any man. The wind shifted to eastward, and we drove until day, when not seeing any of our fleet, we set our sprit-sail to bring her head about to seek some land before night, or know, if possible, where we were. Having cast our ship, the master commanded to take in the sail; but Heaven, which never left us, made use of weak instruments to manifest his mercy, for as they were taking it in, it blew out of the bolt-ropes, so that being past recovery, let it stand: this hastened our way so much as it brought us within sight of danger by three in the morning, we standing directly on a ledge of rocks that are in length ten leagues, which lies betwixt Æregados[1] and the Virgins, so that if we had been benighted, we had undoubtedly all perished, without a miracle, which in part was declared; for having cut the balancing of our fore-yardarm, and set that with much ado, we brought another sprit-sail to the yard by force of hands, endeavouring (though with small hopes) to weather the ledge. As we drew near to it, the wind scanted upon us: yet it pleased God to preserve us in this extremity; for being within half a league of our ruin, the wind veered two points to the eastward, so that we weathered to the rocks, and got sight of the Virgin Islands, where we came to an anchor in the sound in twelve fathom water. The next day the hurricane ceased, and we sailed to our former harbour, where we spent three days to fit ourselves for sea again, both our topmasts being spent [sprung?], and our ship left like a wreck, without rigging or sails. In this dismal storm we lost the Vice-Admiral, and the fly-boat [tender?], who by all probability perished on those lands which we escaped in the night, being a league to the windward of us. When the hurricane began, the Honest Seaman was driven to leeward as far as Hispaniola, where she was afterwards cast ashore, and lost in Porto Pina by the ill-working of the master.

---

[1] The Anagadas, on which sixty-three ships were wrecked between 1811 and 1831.

If my memory had been so treacherous as to have forgotten my duty, I should condemn myself of a crime unpardonable; therefore give me leave to make a contracted value of what we lost in this disaster; and having read it, confess with me it was inestimable. In this fatal wreck,—besides a great many brave gentlemen, and others,—the sea, to glut itself, swallowed the Prince Maurice, whose fame the mouth of detraction cannot blast, his very enemies bewailing his loss. Many had more power, few more merit: he was snatched from us in obscurity, lest, beholding his loss would have prevented some from endeavouring their own safety:—so much he lived beloved, and died bewailed.

Our ships being fitted, we left the harbour, endeavouring to ply to windward, and either to procure provisions or perish in the acquisition; but being to the eastward of those islands, we met with a south-west wind, which never left us until we were within sight of Montserrat, so that we were not long in bearing up. We were six days becalmed, ten leagues distant from thence, and could gain no nearer, between the current and Guadaloupe heaving and setting us too and fro, until at length the wind freshing upon us, we got up with it. We stood into the road by night, and having made a small vessel at anchor (which we hoped was a New Englandman laden with provisions), by reason it was dark, we stood off till day; when making her under sail, we gave chase, and took her before she could get free of the point of the island called Brambsbies Island Point. This done, we stood along the shore to the northward, and being open off Antigua, we descried a Spanish galeon off Five Island Harbour, to whom we gave chase; but she sailing better than we, we gave her over, and tacked and stood for Guadaloupe, where we came to an anchor next day, and were kindly welcomed. The Governor sent the Major of the Island aboard his Highness to assure him of what assistance the island could afford, which he worthily performed, for a speedy course was taken to replenish us with provisions, their storehouses having order to sell their wine unto us, which must be acknowledged a great favour. Two days after the Governor sent his brother to wait on his Highness, who, with an expression of zeal, offered his utmost power to serve the Prince. While we were here arrived, a Dutch ship bound for Antigua, who having received some affront (to revenge himself) told us of two English ships that were in Five Island Harbour, which invited the Prince to make speedy sail thither; where arriving, he landed fifty men under command of a gentleman (Sir Robert Holmes), who, upon landing, beat them off from the fort, upon which the ships surrendered. One of them by disaster was sunk before our arrival; her goods we took out, and brought the other to Guadaloupe, a little harbour that lies to the north of the corner road. While we lay in that road, we saw New Englandman, laden with provisions in the offing, and so took him, and brought him into the little harbour again, which (like manna from heaven) fell into our hands, supplying us at such a season when our necessities were greatest, being homeward bound.

THE RETURN FROM THE INDIES.

The Admiral being alone, his prizes took up many of his men, which disenabled him from undertaking any design but to return northward, having small hopes to recover any of those ships which were separated from him by the hurricane: yet, resolving to visit the English islands once more he sailed to Montserrat, where, arriving as soon as it was light, he stood close under the land, until he came to the Indian bay, where he took two shallops, and kept them from giving intelligence. Coasting along the islands, he came to Meirs,[1] where they had raised two new batteries, and from them discharged many shots at us. His Highness thought it not convenient to hazard all for small gains, and so departed from thence to the island of Statins,[2] inhabited by the Dutch. He came to an anchor, and stayed there some days to take in fresh water; from thence he stood for the Virgin Islands, where he disembarked, directing his course for the northward. We were, by computation, within twelve leagues of the Bermudas, but, being foggy weather, could not discern it: from thence, meeting with westerly winds, we sailed for the Azores. The first land we fell in with was the islands of Flores and Corvo: from thence we stood for Fayal, thinking to refresh our people, and inform ourself how affairs went; but when in the road, and expecting nothing less than friendship, we saluted the forts, they, instead of thanks, returned a shot which struck the Admiral in her bow. The Prince wondering at such rude treatment, sent his boat ashore to inform the governor of his being there, and to know a reason why that shot was made; but his boat rowing towards the landing-place, was waved to keep off, and not suffered to come within speech. The Prince having put some Portuguese in on whom he had relied—their ship being cast away,—sent the boat again; notwithstanding whose relation of their kind usage, our men were not permitted to land, but received answer, that there was no reception for us, without any reason shewed. His Highness, being unsatisfied with that abrupt answer, sailed to St. Michael's, hoping there to receive a better welcome from that governor, whose friendship he had obliged by former civilities; but coming there, within half-shot of their fort, they fired two guns, whose shot passed over the ships, as advice for us not to anchor there. At the same instant appeared a ship in the offing, to whom we gave chase, she was a Frenchman, with whom having spoken, we stood to the northward, betwixt St. Michael's and Terceira, where we met foul weather. The gust being past, we directed our course for the coast of Brittany, intending for the river of Nantes, there to put off our merchandize. Being, by computation, in the height of Cape Finesterre, having men at topmast-head to descry land, they made two ships under the lee-bow, to whom the Prince gave chase; but by the ill conning of the mates, the ship was brought to leeward, which caused the Prince to conn her himself, until he came within shot of the leewardmost; but by reason of a ground-sea, and the discovery of seven or eight sail more, his Highness was persuaded not to lay her aboard, for fear of disabling his own ship from working, in case the rest should bear up with him, and so giving over his chase, stood all night under a pair of courses, the prizes being with them, commanded by Sir Robert Holmes, contemning their chase, in case they intended it. Next day, expecting to hear further from them, he found a clear sea, and not a ship to be seen. Having made the Cape, he stood for his intended port. Being far within the bay, he caused the lead to be heaved, and found sixty fathoms water, which proved to be sounding of rock Bon, a sunk rock that lieth . . . . leagues off the river of Nantes, and is very dangerous, by reason there is no mark for it. Two days after, about nine at night, we saw the island of Belleisle right a-head, which we no sooner made, than we tacked the ship for fear of broken ground which lieth off that island; but the moon was so foully eclipsed, as the ships could hardly see one the other. In this haven Providence is to be remembered, that we should so fortunately make that island before that darkness, for otherwise this last adventure might prove as perilous as any of the former, that coast being very rugged. We stood to sea all night; next day came into the river of Nantes, where we anchored against St. Lazar, and continued there that night; next day we weighed anchor, to get higher up the river to Pamebœuf; but as soon as he was under sail, the pilots of the country, who, according to custom, were taken in, brought the ship on ground upon a bank, which lieth about the middle of the channel, where she was in danger of wreck, for the tide of ebb being long spent, and the bank steep, she had like to have overset. The men, despairing of getting her off, were desirous to quit her, as they were able to shift for themselves; nevertheless, through the industry and care of his Highness, the guns were brought over to the grounded side, and so kept her to rights, until, at half flood, the tide setting very strong, she began to cast and heel, insomuch as the water came into her ports, when, shifting her guns, they righted her again, and at high-water brought her off safe to an anchor before Pamebœuf. Thus having overcome all misfortunes, the Prince ended his voyage; and having taken order for the security of his prizes, he sent his own ship to Crosiack, on the north side, without the river's mouth; thinking to repair and fit her for sea again. Here, however, like a grateful servant, having brought her princely master through so many dangers, she consumed herself; scorning, after being quitted by him, that any inferior person should command her; so as he might, with Cæsar, say to his men, they carried Rupert and his fortune.[1]

---

[1] St. Christopher's?

[2] St. Eustatius?

---

[1] This diary is endorsed with the following memoranda of information to be sought concerning certain passages, from the persons named as the best authorities.

Queries to persons.

Holstein and that action, Sir F. Daniel, Sr. Bret. Lord Craven.
The Prince's actions in Flanders and Choqueux, Sir R. Holmes.
At Sea, Mr. Ferns—Sir R. Holmes, who was a prisoner with him in Guinea.
Helvoetsluys, Lord Gerrard.
Ireland, Sir Thomas Allen.

[The MS. closes here: the Prince received the following letter amongst others on his arrival at Nantes:—

SIR,

I am infinitely joyed to hear that your Highness is safely arrived at Toulon, and considering how much cause there was to fear that you would not have had even so favourable an issue of the storms and enemies you have had to deal with, I again assure your Highness that I am infinitely joyed to hear you are there, and before I enter upon any other matter I entreat your Highness to believe I am as much concerned in this safety of your person by my affections to it and devotion to your service, as any man living can be, of which I will give you proofs of doing, in the present all things that my understanding can direct me to for the good of your service, with all the diligence and industry that can be brought to it, and hereafter all those that your commands shall direct me to, with most punctual obedience, so that your Highness shall perceive I am not, nor have ever departed from the memory of my professions to you, nor shall ever, from the just discharge of them in any occasion that I shall meet, or shall be presented to me, and this is all I shall say to your Highness of this subject, which I entreat you to believe as a most perfect and inviolable truth, touching your affairs, you must be pleased to take notice that those of this place are so employed that it is not possible to give you any other account, than that we are watching the first occasion that can be taken to speak of them, and that we do consult with great care of all that we have to propose here, and offer in advice to you, and that very shortly, we shall dispatch Choqueux to you with the resolutions, and to let you see how absolute a necessity there is for you to expect a while, I will tell you, in short, something of the state of this place, the Duke of Orleans is declared against

the cardinal, goes daily to the Parliament and solicits there "the" removing him from the Ministry, hath already obtained a supplication from the Parliament to that purpose, many other public particulars of this kind are past, that the bearer will relate to you. The Princesses are sent to Havre, nobody knows whether to have their liberty, or only to be treated with concerning it, in fine, where all this will end only God and the angels know, no man knows how to guess. But in fine, the present state is that no other business can be spoken of. I was, last night, with the cardinal, about you and your affairs, but was remitted by him till a day or two be past, nobody knows yet whom to address to for any despatch, nor where this strange confusion of things will end, only it is the general sense that this condition of them cannot last more than very few days. I am come within this day or two from Holland, where I left your Highness's friends, of that place, very well. Seymour, that came some eighteen days ago from the King, came along with me, he left the King well, to be crowned the day after his parting, and all parties in Scotland, at last, but I fear too late, united for his service, they will have once more a very numerous army, and if they be not presently overrun before they accustom their men to their arms, and that they learn the ways of their own defence, I am confident we shall yet have wherewithal to struggle for our recovery, and there will be place to consider at least what may be done, and to have another blow or two for it, if not many. But of this subject, too, your Highness shall be more at large entertained when Choqueux attends you, I will now hold you no longer, God of heaven keep you in all your dangers, and give you at length some quiet, and the fruits of them; I am most truly, Sir, your Highness's most humble and
most obedient, faithful servant,

HENRY JERMYN.]

Paris, February 6, 1652.

CHAPTER III.

THE KING'S DEATH: ITS CONSEQUENCES.

THE KING AT NEWPORT, AT HURST CASTLE, ST. JAMES'S.—HIS TRIAL AND HIS DEATH.

"How died he? Death to life is crown or shame."
Samson Agonistes. MILTON.

"I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds."
MONTROSE.

"For our martyred Charles I lost my lands,
For his son I spent my all;
That a churl might dine, and drink my wine,
And preach in my father's hall.
That father died on Marston Moor,
My son on Worcester plain;
But the King he turned his back on me,
When he came to his own again."
The Cavalier. DOYLE.

WHEN Rupert left England in the summer of 1646, the Cavaliers had "lost all except honour." They had lost even their King. From the moment of his surrender to the false Scots,[1] Charles appears to have resigned himself to the abandonment of all reservation, except of those principles by which he had resolved to stand or fall. We have read the King's orders from Newcastle[1] to his brave garrisons of Newark, Oxford, and finally to all others in arms for him, to make the best terms possible for themselves, and to think of him and his lost cause no more.[2]

---

[1] It is to be remembered, to the everlasting shame of these traitors, that Charles had ever shewn the greatest indulgence to their nation, especially to those through whose instrumentality he was sold. M. de Montreuil, the unlucky agent of his surrender

---

to the Scots, thus reports to the French Minister the state of patriotic Scotland on the 1st of January, 1646 :—

"J'ai trouvé le Parlement d'Ecosse divisé en trois factions : celle des Argiles, qui veulent détruire le Roi et la monarchie, et qui le professent ouvertement ; celle des Hamiltons, qui temoignent desirér la conservation de l'une de l'autre, et qui travaillent puissamment sous main à la ruine de tous les deux ; et la troisième de ceux, qui en dependent ni les Hamiltons, ni des Argiles, qui veulent se semble maintenir le Roi, et conserver la monarchie, mais qui ne se croient pas assez fort, ou qui ne sont pas assez généreux pour prendre les moyens qui seroient necessaires pour y parvenir."—*M. de Montreuil, Jan.* 1, 1646.

[1] It was at Newcastle that one of the truculent Scotch ministers took advantage of the King's being in the church to revile his Majesty from the pulpit. Not contented with this outrage towards God and man, the divine gave out for the concluding psalm these verses :—

"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself
Thy wicked works to praise ?"

When the King arose and, in a calm, clear voice, called for the fifty-sixth psalm :—

"Have mercy, Lord ! on me, I pray,
For men would me devour."

The congregation joined without hesitation with the Head of the Church.—See *Kennett's History*, p. 166.

[2] The following is an extract from the last report that Rupert received from any of his old officers. It is from William Campion, the Governor of Bostal House, who encloses the terms of his capitulation, and deplores not having been able to see the Prince before his departure from England :—

I now leave it to your high judgment whether I have done handsomely or no. Your Highness knows by experience that innocence itself is not free from detraction. The chiefest object, At Holdenby, the King found himself once more under his own roof: this palace had been given to him in happier days by his mother. When the ruffianly Joyce came to remove him thence, and shewed a pistol as his only authority, the King believed that he was going to his death: his sanguine spirit, however, soon revived when he found that his presence was hailed with such triumph by the army: he believed that he had still a great game to play. The deluded Presbyterians had now awakened to a sense of their own dangerous position; they saw the sword substituted for the sceptre which their blind improvidence had broken, and they would fain, in order to save themselves, have now used that King, whom they had striven to destroy. Had Charles possessed either that knowledge of character in which Cromwell excelled, or that tact which is the best substitute for the higher quality, he might have made himself arbiter between the two great factions. But Charles the First was singularly deficient both in tact, and in those large sympathies which enable men to understand and to make use of the passions of others. Besides the King's prejudices, those of the Parliament who wished him well

---

therefore, that I aim at is his Majesty's and your Highness's satisfaction; of which, if I may have the least intimation from your Highness, it shall outbalance all detractions. And I [shall be] thereby obliged for ever to remain, your Highness's

Most true admirer and servant,

William Campion.

London, July 6, 1646.

had a great difficulty to contend with in his utter absence of sincerity; a vice proceeding rather from his infirmity of purpose than from any moral obliquity. Every negotiation failed; the Independent party became more violent; the Presbyterian more timorous. The balance was thus lost, and with it all chance for the safety of the King. Cromwell found it was necessary to his own views to take away his sovereign's life, and he soon provided himself with a pretext for doing so. As if to remove the King's last chance of safety, the vain and giddy Ashburnham joined him at Hampton Court whilst escape might have been yet possible with a prudent counsellor. At the Isle of Wight opportunities were unpardonably trifled with, and yet more devoted and loyal lives were lost through the King's want of decision, and his favourite's imbecility.[1]

I do not speak of the treaty of Newport as affording Charles any honourable means of safety. Sorrow and trial had ennobled his character, and prevented him from stooping to what he considered an apostasy, in order merely to save his life.[2]

Never had he appeared to such advantage as at this trying time: even Sir Harry Vane professed to admire his bearing, and his discourse.[1] The King knew well that he refused his life when he rejected the Parliamentary conditions. He said at parting to the Commissioners: "My Lords, I believe we shall scarce see each other again; but, God's will be done! I have made my peace with Him, and shall undergo without fear whatever He may suffer man to do unto me:"[2] and so speaking he turned away, and let fall some of "the biggest tears that were ever seen in human eye."[3]

---

[1] Sir John Berkeley's Memoirs.

[2] A great authority, whom no one will suspect of using disparagingly the name of Parliament, gives the King credit for rejecting the Parliamentary terms. Mr. Fox ("History of James II.," p. 11), seems to attribute the failure of this negotiation rather to the "ambition of the Parliamentary leaders than to the suspicions justly entertained of the King's sincerity."

Almost every hope had left the King, and yet Prince Charles was even then with a powerful fleet, wasting his time at the Downs, when he might without opposition, if not without connivance, have borne away his father in safety from his enemies. But the fatal destiny of the King raised up an enemy in his own consort: under the appearance even to herself, perhaps, of solicitude for the King's interest and honour, he was left to die. His escape to France was denounced by her to whom alone he was sincere: her word had ever been his law: she was now, as she had ever been, the instrument of his ruin. Afterwards, when she wrote to the King that a ship was at length provided in which she advised him to escape, it was too late.[4]

---

[1] "Sir Harry Vane," says Sir Edward Walker, "told me they were much deceived in his Majesty, who represented him as a weak person: he found far otherwise, that he was a person of great parts and abilities."

[2] Evelyn's Memoirs, Appendix.

[3] Sir Philip Warwick.

[4] Sir John Berkeley's Memoirs. [The faithful Will Legge

Hurst Castle is now a gloomy ruin of what was once a gloomier fortress: it occupies one of the few dismal situations on the pleasant southern coast of England, and is well known as a landmark to yachtsmen and other navigators of the Solent. Hither the doomed King was now conveyed, as he believed to be assassinated. Soon afterwards his suspicions were confirmed, when the drawbridge was heard to fall in the dead of night, and the tramp of armed men was heard entering those forbidding walls. That night was passed by the King in preparation for immediate death; and when his removal to Windsor was announced next morning, he felt as if restored to life. He mounted his horse with alacrity; he admired the soldierlike aspect of his Puritan Guards, and he even complimented Harrison on their appearance and his own. Respited from the fear of assassination he believed in no other danger: the atrocious but magnanimous idea of bringing him to a public trial had never presented itself to his imagination.

But at length the necessity of escape forced itself on his mind: the same exalted sentiments that had prevented him from yielding up the Church and his most devoted friends as the price of his safety, had rendered his parole sacred during his residence in

---

passed three months in disguise upon the coast, endeavouring with Lovett and Ashburnham to assist the King's escape. Legge was taken prisoner for the fourth time, and kept closely in Arundel Castle. He escaped, however, in time to attend Charles II. to Worcester fight, where he was taken prisoner for the fifth time.]

the Isle of Wight. He was now released from that bond, and he lent a willing ear to the still active and devoted Lady D'Aubigny. This lady and her husband, Lord Newburgh, had arranged a plan for the King's escape, and though it was romantic, it appeared feasible. He had to pass through Windsor Forest, every glade and pathway of which was well known to him: his horse was to be lamed at the last resting place; the "fastest steed in England" was to be offered to him as if by chance; he was to take advantage of some hoped-for chance to ride away from his guards to an appointed spot, where the first of a series of relays awaited him; and so to speed on to where a swift pinnace lay at anchor by a lonely part of the Sussex coast. Everything was in readiness; the horses had been diligently exercised, but the choicest had been disabled by an accident. The King's anxious heart beat quickly, doubtless, as he remounted; but all was vain. Harrison's vigilant eyes seemed to have anticipated the whole plot; a hundred troopers rode near with pistols cocked; Charles was kept by their leader's side, and consigned by him to Windsor Castle in all security. He was soon afterwards transferred to Saint James's Palace, where he was treated with contumely and insolence: from this his last resting place, he was only taken to his trial and his execution.[1]

---

[1] During his trial the head of his cane fell off, and that simple circumstance seems to have affected him more than serious misfortunes. So slight "a straw may break the camel's back." The

The remembrance of that trial is deeply impressed on every mind, as if both ear and eye had marked its progress. There, in his own Royal Hall of Westminster, the King of England vindicated the innate nobleness of his nature: there he exhibited the majesty of mind, and the heroic patience that still, despite of all his earlier errors, renders his name honoured in every chivalrous heart.

The 30th of January, 1649, was the day appointed for the great sacrifice; the greatest in profane history, when all its solemn circumstances are con-

---

following incidents are curious, as having happened in an impressible age, when omens were much thought of by the vulgar of all ranks. When Charles I. was proclaimed at the court-gate of Theobald's by Sir Edward Lovel, he styled the young King "the rightful and dubitable" heir, but was corrected by his secretary. When the bust of Charles by Bernini was being carried to Whitehall, some drops of blood from a wounded falcon fell upon the neck. He was chief mourner to his mother, brother (Henry), and, thirdly, to his father. The plague was raging at the time of his accession. The two great plagues were both generated in Whitechapel, broke out on the same day, and in the same house.—*Kennet.* Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, preached his coronation sermon on the ominous text, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."—*Rev.* ii. 10. The wing of the golden dove was found to have been broken off. His robe of state was of white instead of purple. He refused to ride in state through the City. At his funeral the snow fell thick upon his pall: "It was all white, the colour of innocency; so went the White King to his grave."—*Herbert's Memoirs*, 286. When his picture was conveyed to Rome for his bust to be taken therefrom, the sculptor (Bernini?) observed, "it was the most unfortunate he had ever seen, and by all the rules of art the original must die a violent death."—*Welwood*, p. 80. He was much struck by the head of his cane falling off as he leant upon it at his trial.—*Sir P. Warwick*, 339. On the head-board of his bed at Cowes was engraved in gilt letters "Remember thy end." The anecdote concerning the Sortes Virgilianæ is told by Welwood, p. 90.—*Jesse.*

sidered. It was not only that an illustrious and gallant man was doomed to die; it was not only the sacrifice of an ancient monarchy to the vulgar ambition of a demagogue; but it was the annihilation of the time-honoured and most ancient sentiment of religious loyalty. Never again was the inevitable bondage of humanity to be ennobled by belief in the Divine nature of its government; never again was the proudest spirit to bend reverently before its King as before the "anointed of the Lord!" From that day forth the People were wiser, not happier, from their dread experience. The graceful ideal of sovereignty was turned into bloody dust before their eyes; and in its place rose up the harsh and capricious authority of brutal force.

Some years passed on, and Cromwell was a King in all but name and nature. *He* then recognised the power that still lingered in that sacred name. He was already in enjoyment of all the irresponsible power that ever cursed our earlier Kings; he had already exercised such despotism as no Stuart had ever dared to speak of; he had raised his country's preeminence among the nations; he had stimulated her energies, revived her prosperity, flattered her pride, and laid broadly the foundations of her future glory. Nevertheless, England cursed him in her heart. The nation, down to his own creatures, indignantly rejected him as King. He saw his power departing from him before he died; and then the people took refuge even in the vices and imbecility of the Second Charles from the revolting mockery of a Protectorate.

Every imagination is familiar with the closing scene of the Civil War's dark tragedy. The scaffold erected in ghastly contrast to the fair architecture of the banqueting hall; the bolts driven into the floor in the fashion of shambles by the human butchers: the headsman's block so low that the King was obliged to lie along the floor in order to reach it with his neck.[1]

The fierce array of fanatic troopers round the scaffold; the uncovered masses of the people, reaching far away towards the green hills that bounded the vista of old streets, or visible through the archway that opened towards the venerable Abbey of Westminster. And high above the heaving and tumultuous masses of people and soldiers stood the King, with the headsman by his side: the Royal victim shewed a manly and cheerful bravery towards his fellowmen, a trusting and deep humility towards God. His voice was calm and musical as he uttered his dying words—brief, eloquent, and full of forgiveness, of prophecy, and prayer; his eye was vividly bright as he laid his neck upon the scaffold.[2] One moment's pause, and the King gave the signal with his hand; the axe flashed through the dark group on high;

---

[1] This refinement on humiliation has not, I think, been generally noticed. I have seen two prints of the execution taken at the time, in which the King is thus represented: they are to be found in the Sutherland Clarendon in the Bodleian Library.

[2] Lilly.

and from below, "one dismal universal groan" burst forth from a nation's breast, and all is over.

Charles Stuart, slaughtered by hypocrites, fanatics, and traitors, lay calmly in his coffin, in the midst of the Banqueting Hall, in the darkness and silence of midnight. His destroyer was not so calm though he had conquered: impelled by a horror of suspense, he went to visit the dead King. Did he not envy the dead Majesty that lay there in calm repose, its lifework done?

When the next morning came, and the scaffold was removed, and the streets were thronged again with their usual busy crowds, the people doubtless marvelled to think how simple a matter it was to kill a King, and yet how powerful must be those who slew him. But even those who sought the life of Charles acknowledged the grandeur of his death, and Cromwell's own laureate celebrated the event in worthy English verse. The partizan was lost in the poet, and Andrew Marvell has left us this noble picture of the scaffold scene:

* * * * *

"While round the armed bands
Did clasp their bloody hands:
He nothing common did, or mean,
After that memorable scene;
  But with his keener eye
  The axe's edge did try;
Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless right,
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed."[1]

---

[1] Aubrey de Vere, in poetry worthy of the time and the

I have not spoken of the King's last sorrowful hours; of his parting with his children; of his frequent and fervent prayer, and Christian resignation; of his interview with the unhappy Duke of Hamilton, who had done more to cause his death than any other person except Cromwell and the Queen: of his dying speech and prayer:—all these must be read where they are largely treated of, and eloquently recorded. The subjoined brief note relates all that is left for me to tell.[1]

The Cavaliers had not been idle during the long interval between the King's betrayal by the Scots, and his execution. In England, in Ireland, and even in Scotland, the fallen standard of the King had been raised with generous rashness by those whose gallant hearts disdained the novel tyranny of the Close Committee. The very misfortunes of the King had won converts to his cause; Lord Callendar in Scotland, Lord Inchiquin in Ireland, had gone over to his party. The Duke of Hamilton's was the most striking conversion of them all: his Grace became sincere. In August, 1648, a strangely allied army of joyous Cavaliers and grim Presbyterians marched out

---

occasion, has celebrated this scene. Lord John Manners also in "England's Trust."

[1] The body was carried to St. James's Palace, and there exposed for a whole day to the view of the people. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, Earls Lindsey and Southampton had leave given them to pay him their last duty; and having carried the body to Windsor, they interred it in the Royal Chapel near Henry VIII., with this inscription on the coffin, "CHARLES THE FIRST, KING OF ENGLAND."

of Scotland under Hamilton's command. At Preston they were encountered by Cromwell, and utterly discomfited; the jealous Scots apparently rejoicing in the overthrow of their present associates, until they found the ruthless sword of their former allies at their own throats. Sir Marmaduke (Lord) Langdale was taken in disguise at Nottingham; the Duke of Hamilton was forced to surrender soon afterwards at Uttoxeter: he lived to receive the blessing of the King whom he had betrayed, and soon afterwards redeemed his noble name by an honourable death upon the scaffold. In the month of May in the same year, the gentlemen of Kent had raised considerable forces in the King's name. Goring, now Earl of Norwich, was chosen to command these undisciplined troops, assembled at Maidstone; but Fairfax and his veterans defeated and utterly dispersed them, with the exception of about one thousand men who were transported into Essex.[1] In that county also, the Royal Standard had been raised. Lord Capel, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and many other officers of note, had collected about three thousand men at Chelmsford. On the 11th of June, these forces obtained possession of Colchester, chiefly by means of Sir Charles Lucas; and there they hastily fortified themselves to wait the result of the Scottish invasion of the North. Fairfax was soon before the weak walls, and a siege was sustained for several weeks: now a fiercer spirit than formerly seems to have actuated the soldiers as well as their officers, as appears from the following letter; [it is to be observed, that bullets "chawed," or otherwise jagged, were supposed to make mortal wounds.]

---

[1] Mr. G. P. R. James has given a very vivid and faithful account of this brief campaign in his novel of "Masterton." He has also very skilfully adopted Lord Digby's romantic adventures into his "Arrah Neil, or Times of Old."

ARTHUR LORD CAPEL AND SIR CHARLES LUCAS TO LORD FAIRFAX.

MY LORD,

We are informed by divers of our people, both prisoners and others, that those people of ours were stripped and wounded after they were taken yesterday. We assure you our usage to yours has been far more civil, as your own men can justify. We desire to know how you will proceed for the future; and further, we give you notice that, since our last to you, we have found divers bullets which were chawd [chewed] in our wounded men, and in some of the prisoners' muskets that were taken.

Your servants,
ARTHUR CAPEL.
CHARLES LUCAS.[1]

Langdale and his cavalry were anxiously expected from the North, and meanwhile the garrison suffered severely from famine, having been long reduced to feeding upon horse-flesh. At length tidings reached the besieged, that the Cavaliers had been finally defeated at Preston, and the soldiers clamoured for a capitulation: Fairfax and Ireton were in an angry mood, however, and offered only the stern conditions of "surrendering to mercy." Even these were accepted by the desperate soldiers, and the officers were obliged to consent. On the 28th of August, the Royal Standard gave way to that of the Close Committee; Fairfax entered the town in triumph, and Ireton was so far able to influence his gallant but stolid nature, as to procure the execution of Lisle and Lucas. It is inconceivable how Fairfax could have been brought to incur this foul reproach on his otherwise fair fame. His only defence for the cold-blooded murder of these two gallant officers was stated in his own Memoirs: he says, that "being mere soldiers of fortune, and falling into our hands by chance of war, execution was done on them."[1] Goring and Capel, "being considerable for estates and families," were sent prisoners to London.

---

[1] Ellis's Original Letters, iii. 304.

The doomed Cavaliers heard their sentence with astonishment, but without dismay. They were to die before sunset; they requested, but in vain, to be allowed to live until the following morning, "that they might settle some things in this world, and prepare their souls for another." They were only allowed time for some brief prayer, and to receive the sacrament. At seven o'clock they were hurried out to a green spot beneath the castle walls; three files of musketeers, with Ireton,

---

[1] Fairfax's short Memorial of himself.

Rainsborough, and Whalley, received them there. Sir George Lisle was removed out of sight of his comrade's execution, but the volley that announced his death rang upon his ear. The gallant Lucas had died as he had lived, with the unostentatious courage of a gentleman: he knelt down upon the green sward, and prayed fervently for a little while; then rising, he stood erect, with a cheerful countenance, before his executioners; he opened his doublet, and bared his manly bosom to their fire: "See, I'm ready!—Rebels, do your worst!" were the last words he uttered; before he ceased to speak, the Roundheads fired, and he fell lifeless; four bullets had pierced his heart. Sir George Lisle was now brought forward: he knelt down and kissed the dead face of his friend, with lips that were in a few moments to be as cold. Then rising, and looking upon the firing party, he told them that they stood too far: one of them replied, "Never fear, sir; I'll warrant we'll hit you!" The Cavalier smiled, as he said, "I have been nearer you when you have missed me." Then, after a short prayer, he too gave the order to fire, and nearly in the same words his dying friend had used,—"I'm ready!—Traitors, do your worst!" That moment he fell dead.

I have detailed this circumstance at some length, partly because it was a singular instance of such ferocious vengeance in this war, and partly because it throws light on the character of the nobler Cava-

M.A. Wageman, del.

Jos. Brown, sc.

SIR CHARLES LUCAS.

ENGRAVED BY PERMISSION FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE RT HON. THE EARL DE GREY.

liers. Fairfax vainly endeavoured to justify the execution to the Parliament; his apology was at first received in cold silence, and then denounced by two fearless members as an act of private vengeance.[1] The friends were not divided in their death; they sleep together in St. Giles' Church, at Colchester, and over them is a black marble slab, with this inscription:—"To the memory of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, by command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament army, in cold blood barbarously murdered."[2]

For some unexplained reason, Lord Holland too had adopted the Royal cause, had made a contemptible demonstration at Kingston, had fled to St. Neot's, been made prisoner there, and died upon the same scaffold with the Duke of Hamilton.

---

[1] Sir Charles Lucas was a brother of Margaret Duchess of Newcastle, who has left some interesting records of this gallant man in "a relation of her birth, &c." In the foregoing details I have chiefly followed "A memoir of the life of Sir Charles Lucas, drawn up by Thomas Philip, Earl de Grey and Baron Lucas." This very interesting little volume was privately printed, but it well deserves a wider circulation. It is written in a manly and generous spirit, and with a military simplicity that suits the subject well.

[2] A tradition of the place says that George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who married Fairfax's only daughter, applied to Charles II. to have this inscription erased. The King mentioned it to Lord Lucas (the brother of Sir Charles), who said that he would obey his Majesty's commands, if his Majesty would allow the following to be substituted: "Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were barbarously murdered for their loyalty to King Charles the First, and King Charles the Second ordered the memorial of their loyalty to be erased." Thereupon the King ordered the inscription to be cut more deeply than before.—*Lord De Grey's Memoir.*

Another far nobler victim shared the fate of these too late repentant traitors. Arthur Lord Capel was one of the best and bravest of the Cavaliers: he was one whose very association with the Royal cause, conferred upon it grace and strength: true-hearted, high-minded, eloquent, and brave, he spoke and acted on the scaffold as nobly as he had always done in the Council or the field. He was among those who were taken at Colchester, and sent to London for trial. Goring, Lord Norwich, shared his prison but not his fate. Cromwell pronounced a high panegyric on the virtues, the graces, and the endowments of Lord Capel,[1] and in the same speech exhorted the now slavish Commons to doom him to death. Lord Norwich had not one single virtue to redeem his crimes, yet was acquitted by the Parliamentary usurpers.

---

[1] Arthur Lord Capel succeeded to the family estate on the death of his grandfather, Sir Arthur, and, "following the example of his ancestors," says Collins, "was very eminent for his hospitality to his neighbours and great charities to the poor, which endeared him to the hearts of the people, who chose him to serve in Parliament for the County of Hereford in 1639 and 1640. In the following year he was advanced to a barony by Charles I." Lord Clarendon gives him the noble character of a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover but very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whose memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. "In a word, he was a man that, whoever shall after him deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued when he shall hear that his courage, virtue, and fidelity are laid in the balance with and compared to that of Lord Capel." Dr. Kippis candidly remarks, "those who differ the most in political sentiments from Lord Capel should be ready to do justice to his integrity and fortitude."—*Park's Notes to Lord Orford.*

The brave old Sir John Owen was brought up for judgment at the same time.[1] He was voted to be hanged, as being untitled, a distinction which these Republicans made of great account. Some manlier spirits among them, however, felt for the wounded honour of an old soldier and gallant gentleman, and they prevailed to have him beheaded; a mercy which he acknowledged with tears of gratitude. Ultimately he was pardoned, and wrote the subjoined letter, which scarcely maintains the high tone that the rest of his character bespeaks.[2]

---

[1] The capriciousness with which the Parliament spared or executed those who were in their power is thus happily characterized by Butler:—

> "And let him fast in bonds abide
> In *Court of Justice* to be tried;
> Where if h' appear so bold or crafty
> There may be danger in his safety,
> If any member there dislike
> His face, or to his beard have pique;
> Or if his death will save or yield,
> Revenge or fright, it is reveal'd,
> Though he hath quarter, ne'ertheless
> Y' have power to hang him when you please."
> *Hudibras*, Part i. Canto 2.

[2] SIR JOHN OWEN TO [SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX ?].

SIR,

Though I desire humbly to magnify and admire the signal hand of God in interposing between a friendless, dying man and death, when the outward means of friends and other interests that was much made use of on behalf of others, proved ineffectual; yet I cannot, without much ingratitude, but humbly acknowledge the favour of those whom God and not man hath stirred up to be instruments of my safety. Amongst the rest, sir, I am truly sensible of what God hath done by you in relation to your reprieve and safety of my life; and as I have received life from the honourable House of Parliament, by yours and other worthy gentlemen's means (a very unexpected means I must confess), so I

Most of the leading Cavaliers who survived the sanguinary war, were abroad or in prison. The Dukes of Richmond and Buckingham, Lords Montrose, Newcastle, Hertford, Ethyn, Hopton, and Digby,[1] were on the Continent, for the most part, haunting the young King's shadowy Court. There also were Hyde, Culpepper, and Nicholas. By far the greater number, however, of those whose letters have filled these pages were at rest in their honourable graves. Will Legge was a prisoner as usual; Lord Astley, and many others, shared his fate, and lay withering in the dungeons of a government that thought it rendered God good service in avenging him of those it called his enemies. The

---

desire to hold my life by no other title than a tenure of their free donation, and never again to turn the use of such a gift to their disservice. And, sir, for your particular and so highly obliging favour, though I assure myself you had rather do many such favours than receive thanks for one, I desire as really to serve you with that life as I have truly received in a very great measure by your means under God. Sir, I pray excuse this trouble, that comes from him that would be much troubled if he should not truly be, as he professes himself to be, sir,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

JOHN OWEN.*

[1] The following sketch seems to have been made for Lord Digby:—

"He's reason's renegado; one with whom
The word *consider* is too troublesome;
Who doth obey his passion and affection;
Whose cogitation is the child of action;
With all his undertakings he goes on
At the same moment they are thought upon."

Jordan, 1640.

* From Mr. Ormsby Gore's MSS.

"Malignants"[1] who were still at large, suffered severely for their loyalty by fines, insults, and insecurity.[2]

For the Marquis of Worcester there remained only the proud consciousness of faithfulness to his King; and then, the penalty he had yet to pay for that sad honour. Scarcely had the King left Ragland Castle for the last time, when the Parliament proceeded to confiscate the great estates "of the Earl of Worcester, Lord Herbert, and Sir John Somerset" (they denied the King's lately given titles). In the month of February following, 1646, the Marquis was besieged in his Castle of Ragland, by General Morgan, and "the Commissioners of Monmouth." The castle was stoutly held until the cause it stood for was utterly lost. In August it was surrendered on honourable conditions as to all but the person of the Marquis. Weighed down by the sorrows of eighty-four years, he was sent to prison, rigorously treated, and forgotten by all but those who ravened for his wealth. His name appears but once more—on the 19th of December, when Parliament orders £1000 to be allowed for his funeral expenses. Lord Say and Sele and Cromwell helped themselves to a considerable portion of the Somerset estates; and to this day that noble House feels the consequences of its devoted loyalty.[1]

---

[1] "A Malignant" was defined by "Mercurius Aulicus" to be "a person who did not set the ordinances of a portion of the present Parliament above all laws made by former Parliaments."

[2] The following letter affords an amusing instance of the petty hardships to which even gentlemen of the Parliamentary party were liable. Thomas Hall, apparently steward to Sir Walter Wrottesley, in a letter to his master from Wrottesley Hall, then garrisoned for the Parliament (March, 1646), complains that "the governor hath likewise set three men to cut wood in the Upper Woodcroft for the garrison's use, and they crop and cut the best and leave the worst behind them, and do not take it before them; and if we do any of us speak, they snap us up with ill words; that is all the remedy that we can have of them. And with regard to the man that hath charge of the ground, he hath left Barney's house and is come to my house, and hath brought his wife and five children. They sell all and make great waste. The garrison is all found with charcoal and wood, and, for my thinking, I know they will send for no other coal."

At a later period, when Charles II., made a romantic effort to recover the lost kingdom, a new generation of Cavaliers appeared among those who were veterans in the last war. My limits do not allow me to enter on this interesting episode of our history, but I cannot help alluding to the fate of the gallant Earl of Derby, Lord Widdrington, Sir Thomas Tildesby, and the second Duke of Hamilton. The three last died by the sword, but Lord

---

[1] It was stated to the House of Commons, 12th of November, 1641, "that the Earl of Worcester had large stables under ground at Ragland Castle, and a number of light horse in them, with 700 men there in pay, and ammunition proportionable."—DUGDALE, p. 77.

Last of all the royal strongholds in England fell Ragland Castle, transmitting to this day in its time-honoured war-worn battlements, visible testimony of its brave defence. Colonel Morgan, in his letter to the Speaker of the Houses of Parliament (dated from the Leaguer before Ragland, June 29, 1646), gives account of the resolution (obstinacy, he calls it), with which this castle was defended, and encloses Lord Worcester's reply to his first summons. "I make choice (if it so please God) rather to die nobly than to live with infamy; which answer, if it be not

Derby graced the Roundheads' sanguinary scaffold. *Sans changer* was the motto of his noble House, and well was it fulfilled in the steadfast loyalty of this brave man, and his heroic spouse.[1] The cold welcome that the former received after his services from Charles I.; the colder acknowledgment of the noble heroism of the latter, had no effect upon their conduct. Derby's loyalty was of that exalted, pure, and simple character which was ready to suffer all things, not only *for* the King, but *from* the King.[2]

Meanwhile, the Roundheads were by no means so happy as the sense of unbounded triumph should have rendered them. They sank under the inevitable destiny of armed revolutions; they were become slaves of those among their fellow-countrymen who had no more sympathy with their patriotic visions, than had the Prætorian bands who appropriated the Empire of Rome with their fellow-citizens. The fierce legions raised, taught, and pampered by the Parliament, soon became weary of having their power farmed out by their masters: they determined to use it on their own account: their character as citizens soon merged in that of soldiers; they ceased to feel the control of public opinion, and formed a public opinion

---

pleasing to you, I shall not think you worthy to be styled by me
Your loving Friend and Servant, H. WORCESTER.
"From my house at Ragland, June 28, 1646. For Colonel Morgan, commander-in-chief of the forces before Ragland."—*King's Coll.*, 266, *No.* 16.

[1] Worthies of Yorkshire and Lancashire, by Hartley Coleridge, p. 225.

[2] Ibid.

of their own. They were nourished in their pride and their exclusiveness by the press, the pulpit, and the agitators: they soon formed a terrible oligarchy of ruthless men; themselves forming their own executive, and wielding the sword they summoned from its sheath. In this spirit they were at once sustained, and partially controlled, by the peculiar form of fanaticism they professed: they returned back three thousand years into the darkness of ages, to seek for public precedents and private example in the history of the Jews; but in imitating the sons of Zeruiah, and the slaughterers of Agag, they were obliged also to assume their pretensions to a righteous life.

Thus the military power which would have laid England waste, had this fierce soldiery been also dissolute, was almost harmless, for nothing but a vicious force can be really destructive to a country. The spiritual pride in which the Zerubbabel serjeants and Joshua corporals indulged may have been as dangerous to themselves as the licentiousness of the Prætorian bands, but it secured the preservation of outward order and decorum in the State. The very name of England was now almost lost in the typical appellation of Israel. The open-hearted, genial, and generous old Briton assumed the principles, and the conduct, and the language of the ferocious Pharisee. Every battle-field was a valley of Gibeah, or a plain of Armageddon; Ireland was a mere "wash-pot" of saintly England, the Edom over which the chosen were to cast out their shoe. The Royalists were sons of Belial; their clergy priests of Baal; their churches were temples of Rimmon, in which not even a Naaman must dare to kneel. The Episcopal order was proscribed; the use of the Liturgy forbidden under the severest penalties. The Presbyterian forms in their turn became almost as much objects of contempt: extempore prayer and absence of all ceremony was considered essential to the saints' reign upon earth. These saints, with hats upon their heads and pipes in their mouths, loved to lie at ease in our old desecrated churches, and listen to some "babe of grace" in buff and bandolier, blaspheming from the pulpit. So early as 1645, for instance, I find the following passage in a letter from the Puritan Kem to the Roundhead Earl of Denbigh: writing from Bristol, he says, that the city is greatly moved "at a lieutenant that goeth up daily and preacheth in a scarlet coat with silver lace, and with a sword by his side, and delivers very strange things; he also holds the mortality of the soul."[1] For other results of the triumph of democracy over the ancient constitution of England, I must again quote Mr. Macaulay. He draws the following picture at a time when he devoted his great resources as an advocate not as now a judge in the court of history. Then, he says were "Major-generals" to be seen "fleecing their districts; soldiers revelling on the spoils of a ruined peasantry; upstarts enriched by the public plunder; taking possession of the hospitable firesides and hereditary trees of the old gentry; boys smashing the beautiful windows of cathedrals; Fifth-monarchy men shouting for King Jesus; Quakers riding naked through the market-place; agitators lecturing from tubs on the fate of Agag."

---

[1] From the Earl of Denbigh's MSS., 19th October, 1645.

During this rampant reign of cant and spiritual tyranny, the true old English heart was still alive, and yearning for better things than either Roundhead or Cavalier could furnish. There still remained those whose

> "Loyalty was still the same,
> Whether it win or lose the game:
> True as the dial to the sun,
> Although it be not shone upon."[1]

---

[1] The following ballad, as it was written at the time, expresses probably the feeling of many of the Cavaliers, who still clung to England in poverty and humiliation:—

> "I am a poor man, God knows,
>   And all my neighbours can tell,
> I want both money and clothes,
>   And yet I live wondrous well.
>
> I have a contented mind,
>   And a heart to bear out all;
> Though fortune, being unkind,
>   Hath given me substance small.
>
> Then hang up sorrow and care,
>   It never shall make me rue;
> What though my back goes bare?
>   I'm ragged and torn and true."
>
> *Roxburgh Ballads.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST.

RUPERT IN FRANCE: TURNS TO PHILOSOPHY.—THE RESTORATION.—SEA-FIGHTS.—DEATH OF PRINCE RUPERT.

> In other part stood one who at the forge
> Labouring, the massy clods of iron and brass
> Had melted, from which he formed
> First his own moulds, then what might else be wrought
> Fusible, or graven in metal.
>
> *Paradise Lost.*

> Heaven take my soul, and England keep my bones.
>
> *King John.*

Prince Rupert had now abandoned his Corsair career for ever. Probably from the days of the Vikingr to those of his own time, no chief had ever exercised that desperate calling with so little of reproach. Not one charge of cruelty is brought against him even by the Roundheads. He is not therefore to be estimated according to the Corsair standard, an epithet that was freely applied to his pursuits. Great admirals, however, under Elizabeth and even James had led the same career, and had invested their daring and prowess with an air of romantic and national honour. In these days, when commerce is almost held sacred, and any enterprise that interrupts its prosperity is justly considered as a universal wrong, we are scarcely fair judges of those who won honour by such courses two hundred years ago.

After three years of perilous adventure Rupert found himself once more on shore, and without an object. His purpose, like all his other undertakings, had failed. The casualties of the terrible sea, and the ungovernable temper of his crews, had subjected him to bitter trials. His brother, who was alone with him on earth, in sympathy and affection, was lost; his best and bravest and most devoted followers were also gone; he had heard their gallant farewell cheer thrilling through the storm that destroyed them. All the wealth, too, for which he had hazarded his life and honour perished with them, buried for ever in the ocean. He had returned to Europe far poorer in heart and purse than when he sailed from thence long years before. Of the little that was left,[1] he had already made a generous proffer in his own name, and that of his loyal crew, to Charles. On his arrival at Nantes, worn down by care and disappointment, he fell dangerously ill, and soon afterwards he received the following affectionate letter from the young King:—

KING CHARLES II. TO PRINCE RUPERT.

MY DEAREST COUSIN,

I am so surprised with joy in the assurance of your safe arrival in these parts, that I cannot tell you how great it is, nor can I consider any misfortunes or accidents which have happened, now I know your person is in safety. If I could receive the like comfort in a reasonable hope of your brothers, I will not tell you how important it would be to my affairs, when my affection makes me impatient to see you, I know the same desire will incline you, after you have done what can be only done by your presence there, to make what haste to me your health can endure, of which I must conjure you to have such a care as it may be in no danger; I have sent Colonel Owen, whom you know to be a very honest man, to do you such service as you shall direct him; Mr. Anthurag will write to you more at large of all things, so that I will say no more to you at present, only to assure you I shall be very impatient till I see you, that I may myself tell you with how much kindness I am

---

[1] Evelyn and a Parliamentary paper say about 10,000*l*.

My dearest Cousin,
Your most affectionate Cousin,
CHARLES R.

For my dear cousin Prince Rupert,
Paris, March 22, 1653.

The same messenger brought two other letters from the Chancellor and from the Queen's favourite. The former is only a fragment :—

. . . . . . sure as I shall live. For God's sake, sir, in the first place look to your health, and then to the safety of what you have there, and then lose no minute of coming away. I do not doubt you will find the welcome here that will please you, with the King and Queen and Duke of York, for your other friends you will find others answerable. Lop. and B. are as . . . . . . they can be made, and I really believe very well they conceive it to be for them, as certainly it will be if you preserve your health and secure your business there. The King hath written to Mr. Holder to come from Brest to wait on you; he is Judge of the Admiralty for the Duke of York, and is all we have here of whom we can make use for adjudication; he will receive a command to the same purpose from the Duke of York. The King and Queen [of France] have written to the governor where you are, to be careful of you. The cardinal hath promised the King to work to him to the same purpose. I do not find any measure of kindness wanting in any of the persons I have mentioned, and if my being here a little may keep it awake, I shall not miss my aim. I shall write again by Rivers and M. de Choqueux out of hand, which shall shorten the trouble to your Highness.

Think of your health, and if you dare venture upon your old apothecary, you may, from whom you will receive some drugs, well meant, if not well prepared.

Your Highness may be pleased to reserve the account or knowledge of your condition until you come. I have written the same, which I hope is come to you.

EDW. HYDE.

SIR,

I am most unfeignedly rejoiced at your Highness's safe arrival, and shall be extremely glad that your indisposition and the condition of your affairs would permit you to hasten hither that I might have the honour to wait upon you. I do hope it will be so soon, that I shall not trouble you with much discourse of this place, besides Mr. Attorney,[1] I presume, doth write largely to you. I will only tell you as a very good witness of it, that the Queen is very entirely your constant friend; she writes to you by this occasion,[2] I will add no more to this at present, but to assure you I am, according to all my professions, with unfeigned truth, Sir, your Highness's most humble and most obedient faithful Servant,

HENRY JERMYN.

Paris, March 22, 1653.

---

[1] Sir Edward Herbert.

[2] The Frenchified courtier means "opportunity."

The Prince recovered from his sickness, and was cheered by the reception that he found, not only from his own Royal kinsmen, but from the King of France. Louis XIV., whose martial imagination was caught by the Prince's renown, sent him a pressing invitation to Paris, with one of his own coaches and a large attendance to escort him thither.[1] On the 10th of April, 1653, we find the English Parliament remonstrating against the countenance shewn to the Prince by France;[2] and on the 3rd of May we find his Highness appointed Master of the Horse to the French King.[3] This new appointment did not interrupt his proceedings at Nantes; he soon returned thither and made a good bargain "for his sugars!" The English Parliament again remonstrated, "but the merchants fared none the better for it, but lost their monies in bribery, &c., and in the interim Rupert selleth the goods."[4]

> Prince Rupert is gone to Nantes, and some say his cause of leaving the town was, that they were to make a process against him for all the prizes he took at sea from all kind of merchants, without exception, which he sold in several places in France, without any licence from his Majesty of France. King Charles intended for Holland, and from thence to Denmark. What shall be the end of his designs I do not yet know.[5]

---

[1] Evelyn; Clarendon.

[2] Thurloe's State Papers, i. 253.

[3] Evelyn, vol. v.

[4] Thurloe's State Papers, i. 257.

[5] A letter of intelligence from Paris, 19th July, 1653, no signature.—*Thurloe's State Papers.*

Here follows another account of the transaction, concluding with a description of Charles II's. frivolous and fretful Court, that seems to have been too true.

> The titular King of England hath received money for his journey into Holland. . . What should his excellency my Lord General Cromwell expect from the cardinal but a parcel of fair promises in answer to his letter? I assure [you] the King and Cardinal are resolved not to deliver Prince Rupert's merchandize, what language soever or fair words they give you. His mind is at rest, there is such assurances given him by the Queen, Cardinal, and Council. I protest they laugh at you, and think your demands so insolent, as nothing [can be] more [so]. In the English Court, though there are but a few poor ministers and lords, there is as much confusion as ever was at the tower of Babylon.[1]

There never, indeed, was a Court more calculated to bring Royalty into disrepute; vice and meanness were there combined with an abject poverty that rendered the great majority of the courtiers as contemptible to the vulgar, as their ignoble intrigues and dissolute lives had long made them appear to the wise and good. It is not surprising that the honest and open nature of Prince Rupert revolted against such a state of society, and that he soon became unpopular among the supercilious yet servile crew that haunted their young exiled King. At this time Sir Edward Hyde became the Prince's bitter enemy, apparently owing to some quarrel relating to the prizes.[1] Lord Digby was still firm, for once, in his enmity, and even Lord Jermyn, who had become a follower of the French and Romanist party, estranged himself gradually from the uncompromising Protestant Prince. Nevertheless, Rupert remained in a state of unusual tranquillity at Paris during the winter of 1653–4.[2] This passage in this note refutes Lord Clarendon's accusations, even if the Prince's letters, already quoted, had not done so. If Rupert had been avaricious, it is not likely that the pauperized King would have used him so affectionately, or that the Prince would have still clung fondly to the old cause.

---

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, 388. Paris, 9th August, 1653. (N. S.)

Some time afterwards, on the Scots' making a proposal of insurrection, Rupert offered to head their forces; but a private letter from O'Neil, asserting that the Prince was held in dread in Scotland, prevented his offer from being accepted;[1] so the eager-hearted Prince was left to amuse himself in Paris, with his fair correspondents[2] and his Blackamoors. These poor fellows, like all those who were near his person, seem to have been much attached to the Prince; and in the following emergency they served his Highness well. A Roundhead writes thus from Paris, July 30, 1653;—

---

[1] In Clarendon's State Papers (vol. iii. p. 177) we find his lordship in very ill humour: he says, that "Sir Edward Herbert [who was Prince Rupert's firm supporter] is despised by all men, and looked up to by Prince Rupert as an oracle. The truth is, the Prince is so governed by the Lord Keeper, that the King knows him not. You talk of money the King should have from the prizes at Nantes? alas! Prince Rupert pretends that the King owes him more money than ever I was worth." See also p. 231, in the same volume, and p. 245, where Lord Clarendon apparently combats the good opinion that old Nicholas courageously maintained of the Prince: "What will convert you in the point concerning Prince Rupert and Sir Edward Herbert?" he querulously asks; "perhaps the one being gone this day for Germany and the other being deprived of the Great Seal will do it." Other angry passages by Lord Clarendon may be found in Evelyn, v. 272. In Lord Clarendon's autobiography we have no account of these transactions: there is a long blank in that work from 1652 to 1655.

[2] We hear from Evelyn (v. 288, n.), that "he flourishes with his Blackamoors and new liveries, and so does his cousin Charles; *they having shared the monies made of the prizes between them*, and in recompense Rupert is made Master of the Horse."

> "The river Seine had like to have made an end of your black Prince Rupert; for some nights since he would needs cool himself in the river, where he was in danger of drowning, but for the help of one of his Blackamoors escaped. His Highness, it seems, has learnt some magic among the remote islands; since his coming hither, he hath cured the Lord Jermyn of a fever, with a charm; but I am confident is without the jurisdiction of his conjuring faculty."[3]

Rupert's name at this period was identified with a mysterious sort of renown very attractive to that

---

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 141.

[2] See their letters in "Bromley's Collection."

[3] Evelyn's Memoirs, v. 298, n. The following curious letter from Thurloe's State Papers gives another version:—

COLONEL EDWARD WOGAN TO MAJOR-GENERAL MASSEY (!).

SIR,

The last night there had like to been a most . . . . accident. the King, Duke, and Prince Rupert being a swimming, Prince Rupert had like to been drowned, had it not been for one Hamilton, that saved him when he was quite gone under water, took him up by the hair of the head, and swam ashore with him. I am concerned that you should want one to present your duty to age, whose mind still yearned after the departing days of chivalry. His romantic bravery on the Continent when a mere boy, his long imprisonment, his prowess in the civil wars of England, his daring and marvellous adventures on the sea, his rare experience in the wonders of the Western world, of whose unexplored and widely-reputed wealth all tales were credible; his noble personal appearance and conspicuous stature: even his "richly-liveried Blackamoors," his birds of brilliant plumage, and monkeys of more than negro intellect and human appearance; his supposed wealth in gems, and gold, and ivory, and rare perfumes, all this was calculated to tell powerfully on the susceptible hearts of Paris; and the number of French love-letters in Bromley's Collection addressed to the Prince, prove that he was not proof to all temptation. These adventures were naturally varied by others of a different nature; the mythology that assigned Mars as the nearest connection of Venus, was well imagined. The following affair is one of the Palatine's experiences in Paris:—

> Last Sunday Prince Rupert, with an Irishman called Holmes, a captain, were returning from hunting at Cam de la Reyne, behind the Louvre, where two gentlemen rode in all haste coming into Paris, to whom Prince Rupert

---

his Majesty, and not one that is so really suspected as Bosell [Boswell ?] is.

Your most affectionate, humble servant,
Edward Wogan.

Valeroyal, the 19th of June, 1653.

gave way, and after they passed, they turned back again, and drew their pistols against Prince Rupert, and both failed; which the Prince seeing, drew one of his own, killed one of them, and mortally wounded the other. M. Comte de Mongiron, their master, married to Mareschal de Plessy Praslin's daughter, riding after them, and seeing one of his gentlemen killed, began to revenge him. Prince Rupert must do with him as he had done with his man, till he cried and told he was such a one. The Prince said he could not believe him for such, yet seeing he said it, he would not meddle with him, so the matter passed, and the gentleman slain the worse for him."[1]

The Emperor of Germany and the Duke of Modena had both of them invited Rupert to assume the command of their forces. He afterwards raised some troops for the latter, which he made over to his old companion in arms, Lord Gerrard. It does not appear that he yet contemplated taking arms under the Emperor, but he had claims on his Imperial Majesty for thirty thousand rix dollars by the articles of Munster, and he was charged at the same time with a mission from Charles II. to the Court of Vienna. Hyde had succeeded in producing an estrangement for some time between the Royal cousins, but they parted in perfect friendship; Rupert having, apparently, purchased the King's good will at some considerable cost.[2]

In June 1654, he proceeded to the Hague to visit his mother.[1] The Queen of Bohemia had remained there ever since her husband's death: generously supported by the States of Holland, and most sordidly dealt with by her son the Elector, Charles Louis. This caitiff Prince had been restored to his Palatinate by the treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, and his mother then vainly hoped to be restored to her dower-house of Frankenthal, which she had herself repaired and beautified in her bridal days. Charles Louis refused this barren justice to his mother, in a letter rendered still more offensive by his hypocritical professions of affection, and canting puritanism. He refused to rescue the Queen from the attacks of her creditors, or to relieve her in any way from the accumulated burdens that her narrow income and her numerous family had imposed upon her. The Elector had lately formed a disreputable connexion with some lady who enslaved him, and his wife was obliged to leave his odious Court, which presented a loathsome contrast and combination of puritanical profession and Epicurean practice.

---

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, p. 185. Letter from Paris, April 1, 1654. (N. S.)

[2] Cromwell's spies saw everything. See Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 276, 325, 327.

---

[1] 405. Strasburgh, June 28, 1654 (O.S.).—"Sunday last, Prince Rupert came on here from Paris with twenty-six persons, among whom are three Blackamoors and an African lad of five years old, which is part of the prey he brought over seas from those parts. He is going for Heidelberg, and from thence to Vienna; but whether or no his cousin, Charles Stuart, whom he left at Paris, will also come into these parts he could not tell for a certainty."

Prince Rupert was probably induced to hasten his visit to the Hague in consequence of the following report there current. There is no suspense so anxious, so ceaseless, as that which watches for what the mysterious sea has taken or hidden away in its silent world.

Letter of intelligence from the Hague, June 19, 1654 (N. S.):—"Here is news of Prince Maurice, who was thought and believed to be drowned and perished, that he is a slave at Africa; for being constrained, at that time that he parted from Prince Rupert, to run as far as Hispaniola, in the West Indies, he was coming back thence towards Spain in a barque laden with a great quantity of silver, and was taken by a pirate of Algiers. The Queen, his mother hath spoken to the ambassador of France, to the end he may write in his behalf to the Great Turk; for it is pre-supposed this State dare not speak for him for fear of offending the Protector." *Thurloe*, vol. ii. p. 238.

Yet Rupert suffered himself to indulge in the hope that this sordid hypocrite would act liberally in his case, and realize professions of which alone his Electoral Highness was very liberal. It was even reported that he had settled a large estate upon his brother, but in a few days, we find the Prince "leaving Heidelberg in a rage, and repairing to Vienna."[1] Here Cromwell's accurate foreign intelligence enables us to trace him through the following extracts from Thurloe:—

> "My friend at Heidelberg wrote me word, that Prince Rupert is gone thence; some guess, on resolutions to serve the Emperor, though others think he will settle on his plantation, his brother having given him lands to the quantity of twenty English miles in compass. Whichsoever of these projects succeeds, it seems he intendeth not his brother's service, of whom there is nothing lately, he being still at the Spa."[2]
>
> "His Imperial Majesty has commanded to give an assignation to Prince Rupert Palatine of thirty thousand rix dollars, of a certain sum due to him since the treaty at

---

[1] Thurloe's State Papers.

[2] 514. Intelligence from Paris, August 12, 1654. (N. S.)

Munster. The said Prince Rupert, besides, solicits money for R. C., of which some part is paid, and more promised; the same you had before."[1]

"Prince Rupert is still here, and is promised what he pretended due to him at the peace of Munster. His train now is come to sixteen persons. He is much honoured here. There was a strange report here, that R. C. [Royal Charles] was to come to this city; which, coming to the Emperor's ears, he wrote to the Prince Palatine, to hinder that journey.[2]

From this time it becomes difficult to trace the Prince's movements. In 1655, he is again in Paris; and has again been divided from King Charles, as Secretary Thurloe's correspondent informs us.

"I need not tell you by whom Prince Rupert was turned from Court; yet, perhaps, you have not known that Hyde then offered Charles Stuart, that fifty thousand men should be in arms in England, before a year went about, if he would quit the Queen's Court and the Prince's party. . . . By the last letters, it doth seem as if Prince Rupert had an intention to see Cologne before Modena; and if he can break Hyde's neck here, it may alter his design and make him stay with the King, which he has most mind to do." [3]

It seems that in the absence of all other occupation, Rupert had undertaken the command of the Duke of Modena's forces, but, through the intrigues of France, this scheme was defeated: Lord Gerrard was also disappointed, who expected to have succeeded him.[1] In the autumn of 1655, Rupert was once more invited to Vienna, and appears unaccountably to have marched with the Austrians against the ancient allies of his House, the Swedes. It appears unaccountable, as he had always refused to take arms against them, and still more as he writes the following letter a few months later, and appears to rejoice in their success.

---

[1] 658. A letter dated, at the Red-mill near Vienna, September 1, 1654. (O. S.)

[2] 684. Vienna, October 13, 1654. (N. S.)

[3] A letter of intelligence from Mr. Manning, June 1, 1655.—*Thurloe*, iii. 459.

PRINCE RUPERT TO KING CHARLES II.

SIR,

I received your Majesty's, of the 16th December, but at my arrival in this place, where, with great grief, I understand the continuation of the news was whispered at Vienna before my departure, of the Spaniards tampering for a peace with Cromwell, yet I am so confident that they will come off it, that I wish K. England would not be too hasty in offering himself to the King of Spain. If the business break between them and England, they will be sure to take K. England by the hand, if not all will be vain; I humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon this boldness, which proceeds from a very faithful heart, to save your Majesty. Sir, I shall not need trouble you with the news from the Swedes, it being generally known how successful their proceedings are; and Cromwell's intentions in the West. I am afraid the treasure of Castle St. Angelo must be opened before the summer. Giving your Majesty most humble thanks for your favour,

---

[1] A letter of intelligence from Mr. Manning, Cologne, July 8, 1655. Thur. iii. 591 :—"Letters from Prince Rupert advise that Bardy, the Duke of Modena's agent, was come to him and had removed all doubts which he made of not going that journey, so that now in honour he must go. He offered the Lord Gerrard to be his lieutenant-general, Craven to be general of his ordnance, and Massey [formerly Roundhead governor of Gloucester] his lieutenant-general of artillery."

A letter of intelligence to Mr. Petit, Paris, July 24, 1655. Thur. iii. 683 :—"Prince Rupert has sent to Italy the troop he had raised for the Duke of Modena; he himself is going to serve the King of Sweden. It is said he intended to be lieutenant-general to the Duke of Modena, but France desired it might be the Count de Broglio."—*Thurloe's State Papers*, iii. 490.

I rest your Majesty's most faithful
and obedient servant, RUPERT.[1]

Heidelberg, Sept. 6, 1656.

It appears scarcely probable that if the war-loving Prince had once resumed a military life, he would so soon have retired from it.

After a reconciliation with King Charles, Rupert once more visited Heidelberg, which he again left in disgust, and took up his residence with the Elector of Mentz. During the next four years, his name is scarcely heard of in history, except in some vague report of invading England.[2] The Prince was far otherwise employed. In the first leisure of his manhood, his mind reverted with a sense of luxury to the philosophical pursuits in which even his youth had taken pleasure. He now found new sources of unexhausted interest in the forge, the laboratory, and the painter's studio.

It was during this lull in the stormy life of Rupert, that he discovered or improved upon his art of mezzotinto. So long ago as 1637, when immured in the Castle of Lintz, he had exercised his active genius in some etchings that still remain, and bear that date. He now returned, in his voluntary retirement, to the objects that had then charmed his enforced leisure. His varied biography presents no more striking period than this, when his name was hidden from the world that had been busied with it for so many years. The plumed helmet, the cuirass, and gallant war-horse are laid aside; the good sword that so often hewed his fearless way through fiercest danger hangs idly on the wall; the stout ship that so long stemmed the storm, and explored strange seas, lies rotting on the banks of Loire. The beauties of Paris are forgotten, calumny itself is silent. The young philosopher, royal, warlike, and renowned, has retired from the world, and adopted the student's bravely ascetic life; the same energies that once led legions along the battle-field, and fleets across the ocean, are now devoted to the discoveries of science and the creations of art.

---

[1] Thurloe, ii. 3. The only authority for the Prince having served Austria against the Swedes is contained in the brief biography I have before alluded to, published in 1683, and entitled the "Life of the Heroicall Prince Rupert," &c.

[2] Thurloe's State Papers, ii. 477.

Among the former, the Prince turned his first attention to those that related to his own profession—of arms. He laboured heartily at his own forge, and applied himself to the practical as well as the theoretical details of science. The writer of his funeral ode, which is quoted from in the first chapter of this work, describes him as forging "the thunderbolts of war, his hands so well could throw." The transactions of the Royal Society [1] record his mode of fabricating a gunpowder of ten times the ordinary strength at that time used;[1] likewise a mode of blowing up rocks in mines, or under water,[2] "an instrument to cast platforms into perspective,[3] an hydraulic engine, a mode of making hail-shot, an improvement in the naval quadrant.[4] Amongst his mechanical labours are also to be reckoned his improvement in the locks of fire-arms, and his guns for discharging several bullets very rapidly. Amongst his chemical discoveries, were the composition now called Prince's metal, and a mode of rendering black lead fusible, and re-changing it into its original state. Perhaps to him is also to be attributed the toy that bears his name as "Rupert's drop; that curious bubble of glass which has long amused children, and puzzled philosophers."[5]

---

[1] Original Register of the Royal Society, vol. ii. p. 283.

---

[1] The exact proportion of strength was as 21 to 2. Sprat, in his History of the Royal Society (p. 255), says (mistakenly) as 20 to 1.

[2] Birch's History of the Royal Society, i. 335.

[3] Ibid. p. 329.

[4] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 58; Campbell's Admirals, ii. 249.

[5] Macaulay's England, i. 409. This philosophical puzzle was introduced by Rupert into England in 1660, and communicated by Charles II. to the Royal Society at Gresham College. It was so well known when "Hudibras" was written as to be used in popular illustration. In part ii. canto 2, we have,—

> "Honour is like that glassy bubble
> That finds philosophers such trouble,
> Whose least part crack'd, the whole does fly
> And wits are crack'd to find out why."

This bubble is in form somewhat pear-shaped, or like a leech; it is formed by dropping highly-refined green glass, when melted, into cold water. Its thick end is so hard that it can scarcely be

Here too, he seems to have reviewed his past life; and prepared to write his own biography, rather to vindicate his character than to gratify his pride. I find amongst his papers an interesting document relative to this matter: it appears to contain the suggestion of some person to whom he had applied for advice.

SUGGESTION FOR WRITING PRINCE RUPERT'S BIOGRAPHY.

It being made appear how much the King's service was disadvantaged, and his Majesty withdrawn from the Prince by the artifice of a Court faction, I would upon as fair occasions produce the King's acknowledgment and professions of infinite tenderness for him (in . . . despite of all his adversaries) as well after his Majesty's displeasure against him as before; and I would cite the very testimonies of his Highness's enemies in their letters to him, without taking any notice of their [after conduct].

I would take a special care to certify all those misreports that have been either spoken or printed to his Highness's prejudice, on the [. .] of the [. . .] but without any notice taken that ever any [. . .] were reported.

---

broken on an anvil, but if the smallest particle of its taper end is broken off, the whole flies at once into atoms and disappears. The theory of this phenomenon is, that its particles when in fusion are in a state of repulsion, but on being dropped into the water its superficies is annealed, and the particles return into the power of each other's attraction; the inner particles, still in a state of repulsion, being confined within their outward covering.—*Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xlvi. p. 175, &c. Though simple in structure, these drops are difficult to make: they are, however, sold cheaply at 31, Fleet street. Prince Rupert also discovered a method of boring guns, which was afterward carried into execution in Romney Marsh by a speculator; but some secret contrivance of annealing the metal was not understood except by the Prince, and the matter died with him. The mode of tempering the Kirby fish-hooks was amongst his lesser discoveries.

In that business of Newark, I would (with submission) pass also, with admittance of [some fault] as his Highness hath in some degree done already, and in that of Bristol (with favour) I conceive it will be the frankest way to write so much of it as was then made public, and after the Prince's just declaration and his acquittal, to insert the King's kindness and esteem in his own words with the Prince's reverence and generosity toward his uncle and an unfortunate prince, in continuing his loyalty and affection to him in all extremities, after this misunderstanding . . . . . . which may be so counted as to consist with great . . . . . . both to his late Majesty and to his Highness the Prince Rupert.

In the prosecution of this life the defects of the Journal must be supplied, and in regard that letters from others to the Prince do generally treat of particulars foreign to the Prince's personal actions, recourse may be had to the Paper Office for the sight of all these relations which were dispatched from the Prince himself to the King, or his ministers, upon every action, as well at sea as at land, which will be a great help also to his Highness's memory.

The most memorable fruit of the philosophic hero's retirement was the invention of mezzotinto.[1]

---

[1] Hereafter I transcribe Evelyn's account of Prince Rupert as an inventor: in the following lines he speaks of him as an artist:—

"We did forbear to mention what his Highness Prince Rupert's own hands have contributed to the dignity of that art, performing things in graving comparable to the greatest masters, such a spirit and address there appears in all he touches, and especially in the mezzotinto, of which we shall speak hereafter more at large, having first enumerated those incomparable engravings of that his new and inimitable style: in both the great and little decollations of St. John the Baptist, the soldier holding a spear

Like all other inventors he was quickly followed by imitators; and the natural tendency of critics to question originality soon sought to deprive him of that honour. I confess that I am little qualified to argue the point as to Prince Rupert's claim to this invention; but I am not the less satisfied in my own mind that nothing but detraction can rob him of that merit. Whatever were the numerous faults of this calumniated Prince, truth and honour were nobly conspicuous in his upright and manly character. He unhesitatingly claimed the invention as his own. Next to Prince Rupert's own testimony on such a matter, that of John Evelyn is the most unimpeachable in respect to his truthfulness and general knowledge of the subject. The invention had been made public for at least four years when Rupert shewed the process to Evelyn in London in 1662, and enlarged upon all its details with characteristic frankness. The chief competitor set up against the Prince is Louis Von Siegen, a lieutenant-colonel in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, from whom Baron Heineken asserts that Rupert learned the art: he says, that the first specimen ever produced was the portrait of the Princess Sophia Land-

---

and leaning his hand on a shield; the Mary Magdalen; the old man's head, that of Titian, and after the same Titian, Georgione and others. P. 333, chap. vi. of the 'New way of Engraving, or Mezzotinto, invented and communicated by Prince Rupert.'"—*Evelyn's Sculptura*, 325. "March 16, 1661. This afternoon Prince Rupert shewed me with his own hands the new way of engraving."—*Evelyn's Diary.*

gravine of Hesse.[1] Mr. Diamond, who has published a paper on this subject, (Lond. 1848,) which he read before the Antiquarian Society, quotes this work, and adds an extract from Grainger's biography of Wren, in which the invention is claimed for Sir Christopher! In this extract, however, is a dangerous admission for Mr. Diamond's theory: it is there mentioned that Vertue alludes to "a large head, *something like mezzotinto,* of the Princess Amelia of Hesse." Now we cannot furnish an expression more derogatory to the fact that it *was* in mezzotinto than the comparison thus made by a most experienced judge in those matters: this head is dated in 1643. Prince Rupert's invention is said to have been founded on the discovery that a soldier, in cleaning his rusty musket found the impression of a curious figure on the rag which he was using, the rusty part having left a dark impression, while the smooth part left the rag still white. This soldier is said to have been cleaning this musket at Brussels during the wars in the Low Countries, but nothing more is known, except the reported communication of the discovery to Le Vaillant, who afterwards attended the Prince at Frankfort. Rupert twice saw service in Flanders—in 1636 and 1647;—and if the musket cleaning took place at the former period there was still ample priority; if at the latter, there can be no reason why Rupert should have studied a rusty gun-barrel instead of a highly finished engraving. There appears to be no reason for the doubt concerning this story, except that love of contradiction which seems to be the natural re-action of speech after an assertion. We have an *etching* by Prince Rupert with his own signature, of 1637, at the time when he was a prisoner in the Castle of Lintz, which probably bears as much resemblance to mezzotinto as the head of the Princess Amelia does. The portrait which is triumphantly produced in confutation of the Prince's claims, is dated 1657,[1] whilst its exhibitor observes, "it is only necessary to add that Rupert's earliest efforts in mezzotinto is of the year 1658." It is very possible that the first published portrait of Prince Rupert may bear a later date than that assigned by Siegen to his own work; and yet that the former may be genuine, while the other may be assumed, in order to vindicate a claim to the invention. It is certain, from the etchings now in the British Museum, that Prince Rupert applied himself very zealously to the art of engraving in the year 1657.[2] It is impossible that he could have been ignorant of Siegen's invention; but it is still more impossible that he should have claimed it as his own. Against the testimony of the Prince engraven, and that of the honest Evelyn, written, at the time, we have this Baron Heineken's "Idée Générale," formed one hundred and twenty years later, and Siegen's assertion supported only by his own authority.

---

[1] Idée Générale d'une Collection complète d'Estampes, printed at Leipsic in 1771.

---

[1] The Earliest Specimens of Mezzotinto Engraving, by Hugh W. Diamond, Esq., F.S.A. Lond. 1848.

[2] There are three fine etchings in the British Museum. The first appears to be an original composition: a whole length portrait of a mendicant friar is the principal figure, relieved by a landscape containing a city and river, and grouped with five soldiers and two other figures: this bears the Prince's mark, "Rup. Pr. F.," 1637. The second is a whole-length figure of a beggar, without date. The third is a landscape, date 1657.

I shall not enter further into a discussion in which I am so little qualified to act as an advocate. I shall content myself with referring to Lord Orford's opinion,[1] and inserting the following extract from Evelyn's "Sculptura."[2] He proposes to gratify his reader with "a mystery of art altogether rare, extraordinary, universally approved of, admired by all who have considered the effect of it, and which, as yet, has by none been ever published. Nor may I, without extraordinary ingratitude conceal that illustrious name which did communicate it to me; nor the obligation which the curious have to that heroic person who was pleased to impart it to the world, though by so incompetent and unworthy an instrument. It would appear a paradox to discourse to you of a *graving* without a *graver*, *burin*, *point*, or *aqua fortis*, and yet is this performed without the assistance of either. That what gives our most perite and dextrous artists the greatest trouble, and is longest finishing (for such are the patches and deepest shadows in plates) should be here the least considerable and most expeditious; that on the contrary the lights should be in this the most laborious, and yet performed with the greatest facility; that what appears to be effected with so little curiosity, should yet so accurately resemble what is generally considered the very greatest; that a print should emulate even the best of drawings in *chiaro oscuro* (as the Italians term it), pieces of the mezzotinto, so as nothing either of Ugo da Carpi, or any of those other masters who pursued his attempt, and whose works we have already celebrated, have exceeded, or indeed approached, especially for that of portraits, figures, tender landscapes, history, &c., to which it seems most appropriate and applicable."

---

[1] Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 133.

[2] 8vo. Lond. 1755, p. 127, chap. vi. "Of the New way of Engraving, or MEZZOTINTO, INVENTED and communicated to me by his Highness Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine," &c.

Few of these inventions or discoveries transpired at the time. They were their own reward to the philosophic prince,—

"Pale o'er his lamp and in his cell retired,"

far from the tumult and ambition of the world.

But at length a new epoch arrived for England, Prince Rupert's cherished and adopted country. On the 29th of May, Charles the Second was restored to the throne of his ancestors. The profligate young king and his hungry tribe of courtiers burst in upon England as soldiers on a city taken by assault; the people, intoxicated with the enthusiasm of hope, welcomed their sovereign with rapture. They had tried, and been trampled on by all forms of tyranny that ever assumed the mask of patriotism, and they were ready to welcome the greatest oppression that mere kingship could achieve. But their imaginations figured no such fear: they knew that their young King was brave and kindly, and they gave him credit for almost as many virtues as he possessed vices.

Long months of festival succeeded the Restoration. Prince Rupert received an honourable invitation to his cousin's Court, and in the autumn of the same year he proceeded to the Hague. There he found the Queen of Bohemia still languishing under the burden of her debts: her caitiff son, the Elector, withheld from her the smallest pittance of her own dower, and had long left her to subsist on the charity of the States. All her daughters had left her, either for love or religion; and Elizabeth of England, the darling of her own people, the idol of European chivalry, was left alone to pine in poverty. But one generous and devoted friend, able and willing to befriend her nobly, remained. This was the Earl of Craven. He had devoted his youth to her service, he had grown grey in her friendship; he had probably warded off from her the more painful attacks of poverty, and he now proposed to procure her return to her native country.[1]

---

[1] This generous and romantic nobleman had entered the service of the States to be near his Queen, and was titular Master of the

Rupert found his mother anxious, yet unable, to leave Holland. She was hampered by a heavy arrear of debt, which her poor son was utterly incompetent to relieve. Indeed, it appears incomprehensible how he had hitherto found means to support himself, even "without his Blackamoors and their laced liveries," which had long been laid aside. The Elector gave him nothing, Charles had nothing to give; the prizes scarcely paid the wages of their crews and the debt previously contracted at Toulon. His prospects at present were little better; he was promised a pension of 1500*l*. a year, which he afterwards received, but it was long before he obtained any additional income. He remained for some months with his mother and sister, who shared his taste and genius for the fine arts, especially for drawing, in which she rivalled her master, Gerard Honthorst; this was the Princess Louisa, who had been long the faithful affectionate companion of her mother. Her eldest sister, Elizabeth, after a joyless and anxious childhood, was proposed to by Ladislaus, the young King of Poland: there was but one bar to an union which would have procured for her independence, and a large power of doing good, in which she chiefly delighted; she was required to change her religion as a preliminary, and this she refused to do. The marriage was broken off, and

---

Horse to the Elector Palatine. He had given Charles II. 50,000*l*. in his poverty, and for this his estates had been confiscated by Cromwell.

the Princess retired from the world into the Lutheran Abbey of Hervorden, of which she finally became the superior: after a life passed in the exercise of every noble and beneficent faculty, she died in 1680. Henrietta Maria, the second sister, had been married to Prince Ragotski in 1651, and died in the same year. Sophia, the youngest sister, was beautiful, joyous, and everywhere a favourite: she was married, in 1658, to Ernest Augustus, the young Bishop of Osnaburg, who became ultimately Elector of Hanover, gave heirs to the throne of England, and died at a good old age, in 1717. The Princess Louisa had hitherto refused all temptations to leave her mother; but in an evil hour she entered into controversy with some Jesuits, who soon won upon her imaginative nature, and at length made her their own: one morning a note was found on the table of her deserted room, stating that she had fled to the bosom of the true Church, and had abandoned the world and her mother for ever: she soon afterwards became Abbess of Maubuisson, where she died in 1709. Rupert was very lonely in the world: estranged from his eldest brother, the Elector Palatine, by the sordid nature of that unworthy Prince; and from his only other surviving[1] brother, Edward, by his zealous Romanism and devotion to France; cut off by his poverty from all prospects of a suitable marriage, and wearied with the pursuit of war as a mere profession, his thoughts reverted to the now quiet fields and stately homes of good old England. There he might still find some of his old companions in arms; there he might prosecute in security his philosophical pursuits; and, if need were, once more lead the forces of his adopted country against an enemy.

---

[1] Prince Maurice lay buried in the West Indian seas, and Prince Philip, after a disgraceful life, had been knocked on the head at some siege in the Low Countries.

Rupert seems to have remained for some time at the Hague with his mother, in the hope that she might accompany him to England.[1] The Restoration Parliament had voted her 10,000*l.* which had enabled her to discharge her debts; but the restored King was apprehensive of his benefactress as an incumbrance, and forbade her return, until Lord Craven made some arrangement to defray all her expenses, and offered his house to be her home. It appears that their arrangement was not palatable either to the Queen or to Prince Rupert; but it ended in her acceptance of the generous offer. Rupert in the meanwhile had sailed for England, probably in the hope of facilitating his mother's wishes. The Queen wrote to him from the Hague, saying, she had already proceeded so far when her progress was arrested by the King of England's ungenerous message. Her letter concludes with these words, "I have resolution to suffer all things constantly; I thank God, he has given me courage. I love you ever, dear Rupert."[1] At length, in 1662, all obstacles having been removed by Lord Craven's advocacy and liberality, the forlorn Queen of Bohemia arrived in London unnoticed and almost forgotten. There she found an asylum at Drury House, which, with its spacious gardens, then enjoyed a country air, though it occupied the site of the present theatre and the adjoining streets. Here she seems to have regained some of her natural spirits, and to have risen over all her misfortunes, with brave cheerfulness. Reunited to her favourite son, Rupert, and breathing once more her native air, she closed her troubled life in comparative happiness. In the autumn of 1662 she had removed to Leicester House, and the next public notice that appears of her is the paragraph that at some time or other applies to the humblest of us all: "She died," on the 13th of February, 1662, in the 66th year of her age.[2]

---

[1] Pepys, who had a great dislike to the Prince, states in his "Diary," on the 23rd of September, "Prince Rupert came to Court, welcome to nobody."

I have gone beyond the date of the following letters, in order not to interrupt this episode. In 1661, soon after he had greeted and congratulated Charles on his restoration, Rupert determined to seek employment at the Court of Vienna: in this step, however, he seems to have been actuated by a desire to recover some money assigned to him by the Treaty of Munster, and to have also borne a secret mission from Charles to the Emperor. The correspondence forms an interesting episode; and proves amongst other things, that Rupert had been reconciled to the Chancellor, Lord Clarendon. "Our cousin," seems to have been a *sobriquet* for some fair friend.

---

[1] Bromley's Letters, p. 189.

[2] Miss Benger's Life of the Queen of Bohemia.

For the whole of these letters to Colonel Legge I am indebted to Lord Dartmouth's kindness.

DEAR WILL.,

I have hardly recovered this sea-voyage, which was favourable enough as to my health, for after the first day's offer to Neptune I used that ceremony no more. That which most troubled us was, after we came in sight of our port, a great storm of rain, the wind easterly, which lasted the whole night. On Thursday morning, the tide not serving for the Maese, we ran into Goree. I can tell you of no adventure only one, which was to meet one Master Buskins, who desiring to go over with me, having seriously not known him before, I easily gave way to it. By his discourse, I found quickly that the Lord Chancellor was not his friend, and that his chiefest design of coming over, was to have a letter from my mother, and one from me, in his behalf, to his Majesty. How this will take effect you may easily imagine. Sir Robert Welsh is here also, whose business, I find already, was to go with me to Vienna, which I shall also not allow. I hope Colonel Wheeler hath been pleased to let you know, how that there was left a fire-ball in the little closet; my people tell me since that, they left a little barrel of powder. I was very angry with them for it, but I hope that it will not be thought a plot; more names at present you must not expect. This is in haste, as you may guess by the writing. I durst not write in the same hand to our master. So fare well, dear Will.,

I am yours, RUPERT.

Hague, $\frac{18}{28}$th April, 1661.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Hague, $\substack{\text{4th May,}\\ \text{29th April,}}$ 1661.

Dear Will.,

By the last post, I wrote to you of my arrival in this place. I was detained by Mr Blackwell's correspondent, who, instead of paying the monies upon sight, by unnecessary delays kept them, and, consequently we and my horses detained here till this post. Pray let Mr. Blackwell know this from me; and that I could have no ducats from the merchant, but was fain to pay almost one in a hundred to have them elsewhere. All this is contrary to his promise, and my dealing with him, as Mr. Kemaden can tell you, was free enough. In my last, I wrote to you of one Major Buskins; he is gone without a letter; he may, perchance, be offended at it, but I hope, not knowing the person, nor the difference between him and the Lord Chancellor, my friends will not blame me for it. I put off Sir Robert Welsh also from going with me into Germany. The Emperor's minister resident here assures me that most of the Princes of Germany have consented to send the Emperor aid against the Turks, but they desire a General of their own may command them, and have liberty to come back at his master's command. This will be as ill-liked a one, as the demand some of the Rhenish Princes make to their Hagen Moguls, for restitution of Wesell and Reinberg. If the Turks were quiet, this might prove an ill beginning of a correspondence; these have, I understand spoke high language about their herrings, which they say shall be maintained with all the power and force they have. The Prince of Orange is at Cleve, whither I intend with all speed.

The Lord Craven hath not done very well in my mother's business; she, therefore, is not very willing he should have anything to do with it, till she herself be acquainted. I found the poor woman very much dejected, that I could not tell her the time she might expect to be sent for. Pray acquaint the Chancellor with this, and the King with the news I told you. I almost forgot to tell you another story, which be pleased to acquaint the Duke of Albemarle with. You have, doubtless, seen a lame Polish Prince some time at Whitehall, with passports, a begging. This noble soul is taken and imprisoned, at Alikmore, hath but twice been burnt in the back, before this misfortune befell him. The Duke, I am sure, will remember what my judgment was of this fellow.

I am your most faithful friend, ever,

RUPERT.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Cleve, $\frac{8}{18}$th May, 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

I am come thus far, where I meet with great alarms, and preparations of war on all sides; both Turks and Swedes arm. This Elector is in readiness, fearing the Swedes' treachery. The Emperor is preparing also to withstand the Turks; but, I am confident, if peace can be made there—as I doubt not it may, since it rests but upon a tribute, which is desired from the Transylvanians—the troops will not want employment elsewhere. De Sanche commands now, in chief, a fellow that run from the Swedes with a sum of money. By the next, I shall be able to write more of these things than now I can. This I must add, that the Hollanders boast much; avowing openly, that if the King doth trouble the herring-fishing, they will maintain it with the sword. I told some that butter and cheese would do better. Pray let the King know all this, as also the Chancellor. I met in with one De Rues, an engineer, the ablest man in his profession that ever I saw, of whom I have already spoken to the King. If the fortification of Portsmouth go on, I wish his advice may be taken, for none fortifies so well, and cheap, and fast as he. He hath at present in hand, Calker, a place two miles off, of four royal bastions, outworks his way and batteries placed, which, till you are almost over the moat, cannot be dismounted, really the finest that ever were made, and all will not cost eight thousand pounds. He makes any earth serve for his basements, and uses no stones to them; he uses no rods; he mingles his earth sometimes with sand, sometimes with either earth or gravel, as he finds occasion, and with beating makes it so hard, that the shaking of the guns can no way disorder his batteries; in fine, he is a man very extraordinary in all mechanics, and no chicaner. He is now going for Denmark to the King there, who sent for him; in six months he will be back. If it please our King to let him have the plates of Portsmouth, he will make a design which I am confident will please him best of any. Prince Maurice is the surest person to direct the sending it to him, who will also give more particularly his character. Pray let the King know that Duson is alive, risen from the dead, I think. My service to all our friends, especially those in the bedchamber.

I am your most faithful friend,

RUPERT.

As I was writing, De Rues comes in, who bids me assure the King he will bring people, I mean workbases, who shall save the King one-half of the costs; he has a way of working which none has so good. Pray neglect not this man, and tell Sir R. Murray of him, with my remembrances; also that I met with camphor wood, which smells of it; also with a distilled pure rain water, which dissolved gold.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Mentz, Whitsunday, 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

From Cassell I wrote to you, and sent you some considerations, a good friend of mine desired me to send touching Pomerania; I long to hear that you have received them. I met here an envoy which intended for England, sent by the Emperor; he seems much troubled at the news which he met here of the King's marriage with the King Portugal's daughter: I have done what I could to make him go on, but as yet he is not resolved further than Brussels, there he will stay for orders. To-morrow I leave this place directly for Vienna, since I departed Cleve, I hear, for certain, that the Queen of Bohemia is gone for England, but on what terms I know not. Pray do me the favour to let me understand the truth of it, for when I left the Hague there was no such thing in hand. The Elector here is very civil to me, I delivered the King's letter to him, upon which he assured me to assisting in all things to me. He also told me of a *foudre* of Rhenish wine he sent me. Sir Kenelm Digby hath the disposal of it, to whom the whole *cargaison* is directed. Pray ask it of him in remembrance of your friends, so farewell. I am, &c.,

RUPERT.

Vienna, June 22, 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

I have but just time to tell you, that though I have been here eight days already the Spanish Ambassador has not yet been to see me, nor none of the grand ministers; if this be out of pet, or God knows what, it will quickly discover itself. A friend of mine, at my coming, assured me that there were but two difficulties which hindered my advancement to the generalship of the Horse: the one was my being no Roman; the other, that the Marquis of Bade and General Zelzing-maister de Sanche had taken ill, if I was advanced before them; and as he thought both these small impediments might easily be come over, especially the first, on which he was afraid most did depend. I can see so small preparations for a war against the Turks, otherwise than for a defencing one, in which, roasting in the sun and getting sickness, will be the greatest danger. I have not got one syllable from you, pray, fail not to write as often as you can, so farewell, dear Will., Your faithful friend,

RUPERT.

I almost forgot to tell you how that Comte Lesley's cousin, I forget his name, but I remember that his sister was married to Sir Michael, this man did me the favour to send over a book to Comte Lesley, entitled "The Frondage," in which is spoken most base language of me and of my actions in England: but I am confident if honest Will had read the book, he had broken the translator's head. Besides what he says of me, he extols Cromwell's actions, and doth no right to this or the late King. One Harris translated it; pray, inquire after the book, and judge if it were not a Scotch trick to send it. By the next, I shall be able to give the King an account what the answer was to his letter, as yet there is none, the hunting retards much business. Pray, remember me kindly to my Lord Chancellor, tell him he must expect a long letter from me next week. Moutray is the name, I forgot.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Vienna, July $\frac{10}{20}$, 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

I did not write to you the last week because I intended to see the issue of some things here, at last the

Marquis de Fuentes, late Ambassador for Spain, came to visit Prince Rupert. I believe the new one pressed him to do it, well believing that Rupert else would not have given him the like. The most part of the said Marquis's discourse was of this marriage of Portugal, which extremely troubles him; he would needs lay all the fault upon Duke Ormond and the Lord Chancellor, who he said intended to bring the King into a war with Spain. He complained also that the Baron Batteville did very ill to send Lord Bristol out of England, when a dog with a letter tied to his collar, would have served to ask the Princess of Parma, for by this means, said he, one that was assisting our interest was wanting. He inquired very much how it came that the Lord Chancellor and the Spanish Ambassador, Baron Batteville, fell out; but Rupert knew nothing of all this, so could give no answer. This day Rupert intends to visit the Marquis of Fuentes. If anything occur between them, I shall strive to write it before the post go; in the meantime, be pleased to know that Rupert is but coldly used by the ministers. They would have him demand the generalship of Horse before there is an appearance of subsistence, nay, before what is owing in arrears by the Peace of Munster be made sure unto him; to which Rupert was no ways inclined, especially since he had the intimation given him that his religion was an obstacle to his advancement in the wars. The Emperor, Empress, and Archduke, are extremely kind to Rupert, but none of the councillors have done him the honour of a visit, the reason, I believe, is the marriage aforesaid. The Turks have possessed a port, called in Dutch the Tuon Port; it was most foolishly overseen by our commander, who lay with five thousand men not far from it. Montecuculi is posted with the rest of the army, consisting of about thirty thousand, near the Danube; there is no speech yet of a Reidi's day, and before there is, you may be confident that no great business against the Turk can be done; neither do I find any great desire in this people to have any assistance from Protestants, nor any but from Roman Catholics. Pray let the Lord Chancellor know all this, and remember me to him, Duke Ormond, and the rest of our friends. The Hungarian wine is likely to be very good this year. I wrote you word of some wine that was sent to Rupert by the Elector of Mentz; Sir Kenelm Digby hath it in his hands. Rupert intends you should make use of it, a *foudre* is the quantity. For God's sake if there be any likelihood of any breach with Spain, let me know by times, it concerns us to know it. We assure you adieu; my service to our cousin; farewell, dear Will.,

I am yours,
RUPERT.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Vienna, August 6, 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

For this time the King will have the longest letter; I am forced to give in a memorial to the Emperor concerning the money due to us brothers, by the Peace of Munster; and for my own particular, which payment goeth on but slowly. It is true that money is a commodity in great request in this Court, and scarce enough; but yet means may be found to satisfy my particular if they please. I must confess the Emperor is kind enough to me, but no visit yet from the Grand-Councillors. Montecuculi marches for Transylvania to-morrow. Stocke stays on these frontiers. Yet for all this I do not believe that any war is intended. Conti Straci, now at Paris, has orders (as it is said) to go to our King. My service to our cousin; and so fare you well, dear Will.,

I am yours,
RUPERT.

I could wish the wine you presented to my Lord Chancellor was worth his acceptance; I hope some Hungarian wine I am making provision of will.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Vienna, August 8, 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

I am in no small pain for our cousin since I hear she hath got the small-pox; pray God she may fall not into the Frenchified physicians' hands, so let blood and die. What I write to you concerning Pomerania, if you remember, was with this caution; that if you liked it, one should be sent to Rupert whom he might inform all; times are dangerous, especially now; letters are not safe no where, therefore, pray take heed what you write, especially of that. We have made here a prayer of forty hours long for Montecuculi's good success in Transylvania. This day Staremberg and he are to join. Rupert has given in his memorial to the Emperor, and hath spoke to the Archduke Prince Porcia to assist his interest, which both have promised to do; but our President of the Chamber, which is the exchequer, gives little hopes of getting much more than he has done already, which is not the sixth part due of the whole service by the Peace of Munster; but by a contract made by the late Emperor and Rupert since, by the end of this week I shall know more of this business. Wonder not at Sir F. Dorrington, for he perhaps takes it ill I made him not my steward, judge you if I had reason to do it. I hope to be with you before your next setting. Farewell, dear Will.,

I am yours,

RUPERT.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Vienna, Sept. 4, 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

I am not able to write to you of any subject but of one, which I confess doth trouble me in the highest degree, and doth concern our master as well as myself. The story is this: the Elector Palatine hath been pleased to write to a privy councillor of this Court. Farewell, dear Will., I am yours,

RUPERT.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Vienna, Sept. 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

In my last I wrote word how that many general officers are fallen sick; now I must tell you that Count Staremberg is dead since. Sporke and the Marquis of Bude sick still; and, as the Empress told me herself that Montecuculi is sick also. Sanche, that commands those that stay on these frontiers, made a cavalcade into the Turks' dominions, took some oxen, a few prisoners, shewed his teeth, and came back. If this draw not the Turks into these parts, the devil is in them. These enclosed will give you more information than I can have time to write at present. Only this take with you. The Hungarian wine is marching off the river towards Ratisbon, four ton, or eight pipes, which I hope will serve our Court this winter. The latter end of this month I begin my journey towards you. Farewell, dear Will.,

RUPERT.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Vienna, Sept. 9, 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

By the last I wrote you the kind usage of my brother, the Elector, to me, as also the good office he did the King in this Court. I thank God he hath not realised his barbarous intentions. I am bargaining for wine, which is the chiefest business I have here. The Emperor is gone to Ebersdorf, nine leagues off, where he expects my greyhounds, to course a stag. The worst news we have from Montecuculi is that there is no chief commander but himself in health. The Turks retire; but threaten to come next spring with a puissant army. I am afraid that before this harvest pass they may make a plundering cavalcade into Styria; which, if they intend, it will hardly be hindered. This is all the news I can tell you at present. Farewell, dear Will.,

RUPERT.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Vienna, $\frac{14}{24}$ Sept. 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

I received yours dated the 23rd but yesterday. I shall never take ill when the King or Lord Chancellor mind their great occasions more than to write, so that they forget me not. I am now departing from home, that is to say, making way for it; my goods go by Ratisbon, so by land to Wurzburg, and from thence by water the rest of the journey. This course our Hungary wine shall take also, and perhaps gather a kind of Franconi Muscadine wine, which will be liked, I believe. Pray God the sickness of our good Elector hinder not this design. There is a courier come from the army; but what he brings God knows. If it had been good news, we should have had it divulged before now. To-morrow I go to Court to see the Emperor before he goes to Neustadt, which will be on Monday, and returns on the Saturday following; towards which time I shall be ready to begin to take my leave. The Emperor was sick of a fever: but is recovered. I am glad that Holmes hath given the King satisfaction;[1] but I would willingly have what is resolved concerning the whole business. Pray give him thanks for remembering his old master. The orange-flower butter will be very acceptable. Pray remember my service to the General, and tell him that I am very glad to hear of his recovery; it was before I knew he had been sick. If my Lord Lindsay be at Court, the same to him, with the doleful news that poor Rayall at this time is dying, after being the cause of the death of many a stag. By Heaven, I had rather lose the best horse in my stable! Pray desire Lord Chancellor to look well over what I wrote concerning you know what. I hope our cousin will have a letter by this time, and will allow me for not writing no more. Farewell, dear Will.,

---

[1] In his voyage to the River Gambia. See Appendix.

Yours,

RUPERT.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILLL. EGGE.

Frankfort, $\frac{\text{29th Sept.}}{\text{22nd Nov.}}$ 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

I am not at all sorry for what happened at the combat you mention between the Don and Monsieur. God continue such blessings to them. In my last I told you of a sea-design here in Germany; the Elector of Breutenberg is the chief actor in it. And, now I am got hither, I may let you know under the rose, that he also made me write the business I sent you out of Westphalia. I am afraid I shall not now meet with him; yet I shall make all diligence that may. Lord Chancellor's letter I received, and answered it: I will not fail to write to him again from Cassel. Pray remember his Majesty to give order for the transport of his Hungarian wines from Rotterdam. In twenty days I hope they will be come hither: before this come to your hands I hope the Duke of York will have given orders for a frigate for me. So that I hope suddenly to see you. Till then farewell, dear Will.,

Yours,

RUPERT.

PRINCE RUPERT TO WILL. LEGGE.

Cassel, $\frac{13}{23}$ Nov. 1661.

DEAR WILL.,

I am making all the haste I can to you. This place is the only stop; where just at my coming the Landegravine was brought to bed; but I hope that by to-morrow, or next day at farthest, I shall shake off my shackles and be gone in one week to Rotterdam. My baggage will be there as soon as myself, so that I hope to find some order for the transportation of the wines, which are both Hungarian and Rhenish, as also a small frigate for myself. My horses go by the way of Dunkirk. This enclosed pray deliver, and assure his Lordship that I answered his from Vienna. I visit the Elector of Brandenburg, so that I can say little more than what you know of that business; yet I find (by what he sent me word by my sister) that he is hot enough upon it; but of all this I shall tell you more at my arrival. So farewell.

I am yours,

RUPERT.[1]

---

[1] The date of the Prince's arrival in England is shewn by the following letter from Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, to the Duke of Ormond in Ireland, dated from Whitehall, November 23, 1662:—

"His Majesty, his Royal Highness Prince Rupert, my Lord Ashley, and myself present, after some short debate upon the letter from the Council in Ireland, it was concluded utterly impossible to help that kingdom with the sum of money desired in order to compound the debts; and resolved this should be immediately written to your Grace, without taking any more time to think upon it here, or amusing you with half-hopes or promises which could never be effected: in so ill a state are the public affairs here for want of public money, the little revenue his Majesty hath kept out of the sale of Dunkirk being not to be touched for a less occasion than an insurrection here at home, which the foolish and discontented people are apt every day to threaten and apprehend. I have no news to add out of your knowledge, but the sending Mr. Davies to the Tower, by his Majesty's command, a

Rupert had been received on his return to England with honour and many professions of honour by the King. Charles, although incapable of belief in any virtue, was probably glad to have near him one man in whose honesty he was compelled to feel some confidence. He had some tastes in common, too, with the Palatine; he delighted in naval experiments, in all details of shipbuilding, and in the lower branches of mechanics. He was fascinated too, with the brilliant wonders and many mysteries of the laboratory: the dreams of alchemy were not yet altogether exploded, and Charles and the fanciful Buckingham would watch for hours the various encouragements to that delusion that the chemist's skill evolves. Often would the indolent voluptuary and his silken favourite lounge into the workshop of the Prince, where, girt with an apron "and begrimed with soot," the hero of a hundred fights was wielding his hammer as if the anvil was a Roundhead: and there such jests as the giddy Buckingham might venture on, chimed in with the ring of the rude metal. Or, sometimes, they might find the soldier-philosopher busied in the mysteries of the laboratory; trying the old experiments of the Hermetic Philosophy, and exploring the magic secrets of Theophrastus and Synesius. Not that Rupert himself was a believer in the phi-

---

close prisoner; which was the work of Saturday last, of which I do not repeat the occasion, believing your Grace is not ignorant of it."—*Kennet's Chronicle*, p. 832.

losopher's stone; but he could find interest in the beautiful phenomena, and truth in the fantastic deceptions, that its examination involved. How eagerly would the fantastic Buckingham watch the union of the Red Lion with the White Virgin; abandoning all scepticism as he beheld lead, arsenic, and copper, assuming almost every property of gold.

Philosophy became the fashion, doubtless to Rupert's great annoyance; dandies and he had little in common. He established a seclusion for himself in the high tower in Windsor Castle, which he soon furnished after his own peculiar taste. In one set of apartments forges, laboratory instruments, retorts, and crucibles, with all sorts of metals, fluids, and crude ores, lay strewn around in the luxurious confusion of a bachelor's domain; in other rooms armour and arms of all sorts, from that which had blunted the Damascus blade of the Holy Wars, to those that had lately clashed at Marston Moor and Naseby. In another was his library stored with strange books, a list of which may still be seen in the Harleian Miscellany.

But I am anticipating those future years which must now, after the fashion of actual life, pass far more rapidly as they advance. The events of Prince Rupert's public life, until the year 1666, are comparatively few. On the 4th of November, 1661, he was admitted as a Bencher to the Inner Temple.

In the February following he won Evelyn's heart, by explaining to him his "Invention of Mezzotinto."[1] In April, 1662, he was sworn a Member of the Privy Council, and in December, he became a Fellow of the Royal Society.[2] In the meanwhile, he accompanied Charles to meet his luckless bride at Portsmouth, in May, 1662.

I am here enabled to vary these details, by a very interesting and curious letter from Lord Cornbury to the Duchess of Beaufort.[3]

FROM LORD CORNBURY TO THE DUCHESS OF BEAUFORT.

MADAM,

Though I doubt not but your Ladyship hears from better hands than mine how matters go at Court; yet, in obedience to your commands, I think myself obliged to trouble you, though it be with a very ill and imperfect account. I will not say anything of the Queen's person to you, my Lord having seen her, and given you a more ample account than I can by letter; but I will tell you that which is best of all, and which I am sure your Ladyship will be very glad to hear. The King likes her very well; is much taken with her wit and conversation; says he will out-do all that pretend to be good husbands, and that it is his own fault if he be not happy, for he is as happy in his wife as any man can be. He is extreme fond, and spends all his time with her, which I think is an argument that he is well pleased. Certainly she is a woman of a great deal of discretion and judgment, of extraordinary piety, full of sweetness and goodness, and must needs gain the affections of all people by her very gracious and obliging carriage; and no doubt but we shall all be very happy in her, if it please God to give her health, which indeed she hath wanted of late. She hath been indisposed almost ever since I have been here, with a feverish distemper, and hath been let blood twice; but, God be thanked, she is now very well again, and will go abroad to-morrow. She had many physicians called, and amongst the rest, Dr. Fraizer; but nothing was done but by the prescriptions of her own Portuguese doctor. Many impute this indisposition of the Queen's to the cough she got on shipboard; but more to her ill diet, which, I believe, is the strangest you ever heard of, and she cannot yet bring herself to eat English meat; it is either eggs and sugar, or eggs and lard, and now and then a piece of a burnt lean pullet (for the Portuguese complain that all our meat is too fat), and she eats so little of all this, that it is almost impossible she can receive any nourishment by it. But I hope she will by degrees be as well pleased with our English diet as she is with our clothes, which she says she likes very well, though she cannot persuade the Portuguese ladies to follow her example, for they still wear their guardenfantos. The Queen is much concerned that the English ladies spend so much time in dressing themselves. She fears they bestow but little on God Almighty, and in housewifery. We have yet a very unsettled family, nothing at all in order; not one lady of the bedchamber named besides my Lady Suffolk, who is in waiting, and they say both the number and persons you formerly heard mentioned will be much altered. The four dressers are fixed; who are, my Lady Wood, Lady Scroope, Mrs. Fraizer, and Mrs. La Garde. The maids of honour are likewise in waiting; viz., Mrs. Cary, Mrs. Stuart, Mrs. Wells, Mrs. Price, Mrs. Boynton, Mrs.

---

[1] Evelyn's Sculptura, p. 325.

[2] Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 168.

[3] As yet Marchioness of Worcester: Charles II. was in no hurry to keep his father's promises.

Warmestry.[1] The maids of the privy chamber are but two, my Lady Mary Savage, my Lady Betty Livingstone (my Lord Newborough's daughter.) Men: there are only fixed in their offices my Lord Chesterfield, Mr. Montague, myself, and Mr. Cholmeley for a gentleman-usher. No other office is yet visibly disposed of, though I think there are forty pretenders to every one; and they are all here, both men and women, expecting their doom, and I am sure they will not be all pleased, There are twenty little intrigues and factions stirring; but with those I do not meddle, and therefore will not venture to give you any account of them. Only thus much I will tell you, that there are great endeavours used to make ——, you know who,[2] a lady of the bedchamber, but it is hoped by many they will not take effect. A little time will shew us a great deal: I will say no more of this, for fear of burning my fingers. The King says he will settle the Queen's family within very few days. I hope it will be done within a fortnight, and then my business will not be so much but that I may do what I will till Michaelmas, and by the grace of God I will make what haste I can into the country. It is much better walking in the park at Cornbury than in a gallery here. I have not yet been here a week, and really I am quite weary of the Court already. Do you not think, then, I am like to make an excellent good courtier? I know you will not believe me; but, God willing, I intend to be very speedily at Cornbury, and hope to see your Ladyship there, in your way up to London. I must not leave off without giving you most humble thanks for your favours to me at Badminton, and must confess to have so many obligations to you that I can never acknowledge them enough. It is now high time to ask you ten thousand pardons for giving you this long and impertinent trouble, which your own commands hath brought upon you, for I know you have far more exact accounts of everything here, even from very report; but for variety sometimes an impertinent letter is not amiss. And I am so glad of all opportunities to present my service to you, that I forget myself, and think I may be as tedious in a letter as in my discourses with you, and you have pardoned so many of these, that I cannot but hope you will do the same now. I beseech you present my most humble service to my Lord, and let him know I have taken care of the Commissioners' names he gave me. I did not think it manners to trouble him with a letter after so tedious a one to your Ladyship. I hope your little son continues well, and all the rest of your family, which that they may do, and enjoy all the happiness this world can afford, is the constant prayer of him that desires to have the honour to be owned as

---

[1] "Miss" was in these days a title of reproach. In the "Memoirs of De Grammont" all these mistresses are immortalized with diabolical ingenuity.

[2] *We* know that it was Lady Castlemaine.

Your Ladyship's most affectionate brother
and faithful servant,
H. CORNBURY.

Hampton Court, June 10, 1662.

P.S.—I know your Ladyship will be very glad to hear my little one is well; but he hath yet no teeth. If they were over, I should think the worst were past.[1]

If my work were less advanced—perhaps if I had better economized my space—I might dwell with some interest on the incidents and character of the merry Monarch's fascinating and fatal Court: fascinating to every sympathy with wit and beauty, and fatal to every nobler and manlier aspiration. The outcast and exiled King seemed to have brought back the Seven Spirits mentioned in Holy Writ—two more besides the personages of the Cabal—and the last state of England was worse than the first. Rupert's character alone seemed changed for the better. Chastened and calmed by the almost unparalleled vicissitudes of his life,[1] he had become grave, studious, and more recluse than ever, though his letters to Will. Legge prove that his was no misanthropic spirit. Neither his philosophy, however, nor his seclusion rendered him proof against the all-conquering temptations of Charles's beauty-haunted Court. There never was a period in honest England, in which all the virtues, and even the decencies of life were so disregarded. As a great observer of human nature has remarked, "It was one, and perhaps not the least prejudicial consequence of the licence of that ill-governed time, that the bounds betwixt virtue and vice were so far smoothed down and levelled, that the frail wife, or the tender friend who was no wife, did not necessarily lose their place in society, but on the contrary, if they moved in the higher circles, were permitted and encouraged to mingle with women whose rank was certain, and whose reputation was untainted."[1]

---

[1] For this letter and many others I am indebted to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort.

---

[1] Pepys, indeed, with the inveterate and inevitable instinct of a gossip, tells us from hearsay, "that the Prince's courage is not what men take it,—a contempt of death; for, says my Lord Fitzharding, how chagrined the Prince was the other day when he thought he should die."—*Diary*, Jan. 3, 1664–5. Yet some months later he confesses "that Prince Rupert is the boldest attacker in the world for personal courage."

About the year 1665, Prince Rupert seems to have formed an affection for Francisca, daughter of Lord Bellamont,—the Sir Henry Bard, with whose marauding correspondence and bravery we have already made acquaintance. Little is known of this love story: its result was the gallant Dudley Bard, who signalised his heroism at the siege of Buda in 1686, and was killed there in a last desperate attempt to scale the walls.[2]

Prince Rupert had vainly endeavoured to marry and become respectable after his return from the West Indies; and his proposals had been favourably received by the daughter of a Royal House. It was necessary, however, that the Prince should have some ostensible possessions in order to obtain his promised bride; and he applied to the Elector Palatine for the State of Kaisers Lautern: this seems

---

[1] Peveril of the Peak, chap. xxxi.

[2] Rupert seems to have conducted his son's education with anxious care and judgment. At Eton the boy was distinguished for gentleness of temper, as well as for his father's courage, honesty of character, and love of truth. He was likewise passionately fond of military studies, and was placed by his father under the care of Sir Jonas Moore, a celebrated mathematician and engineer in the Tower. After Prince Rupert's death,* the young Dudley succeeded to a fortune bequeathed in Germany to his father; but the sound of war had for him an hereditary fascination: he passed on into Hungary, and was there killed, as I have mentioned, at the age of twenty.

---

* It is remarkable that this Dudley is not alluded to by Prince Rupert's executors.

to have been the only demand ever made by Rupert from his brother, and it was refused. The avaricious and hypocritical Charles Louis pleaded poverty and other insuperable objections, in refusing to make any provision for Rupert to promote his welfare. The Prince consequently retired from all pretensions to married life, and unhappily took refuge from loneliness in associations of a different nature. In Bromley's Royal Letters are several proofs of his ignoble conquests over the soft and worthless affections of the ladies of his time. There are, fortunately for Rupert's credit, no letters from him of this nature, and I do not pretend to criticise those that are addressed to him: there seems to be a singular monotony in such epistles in all ages.

From the period of his return from Vienna until the outbreak of the Dutch war, I find few public notices of Prince Rupert's existence. I presume, therefore, that he had returned to his philosophical pursuits. Pepys mentions him occasionally in his compendious gossip. At one time he speaks of him as the best tennis-player in England;[1] and at another records the following anecdote. Batten had revolted from the Parliament, and was received, of course, by the needy Charles, when some of the Roundhead vessels declared for him. At the time a battle with Lord Warwick was expected, it appears that Batten was very much moved, and carried a napkin round his chin to remove the perspiration caused by his fear. Rupert walked up and down the deck impatiently, swearing to the King that Batten was making signals to the enemy; "but," he said, "if things go ill, by G— the first thing I will do is to shoot him." When the Guinea fleet was fitting out, Pepys met the Prince at the Duke of Albemarle's house: speaking of the adventurous voyage, the Prince said, "I cannot answer but for *one* ship; in that I will do my part."

---

[1] Pepys's Diary. He also says that Charles II. used to play a great deal with him, and was in the habit of weighing himself before and after each game. On one occasion he found himself 4½ lbs. lighter after his exercise!

I am not about to follow Prince Rupert's naval career through all its details. My allotted space is contracting rapidly, and I must confine myself to a mere mention of the actions in which he was engaged in the capacity of military admiral; adding such personal anecdotes as survive concerning his adventures in his new career. He is no longer the impetuous and reckless young Cavalier, who was wont to carry even victory too far, and who valued the lives of his followers as little as his own. He is now become cautious and vigilant; considerate not only of the lives of his marine soldiers, but of their conduct and their comfort. He seems to have exchanged character with Monk, who is become daring even to rashness, and cannot when in anger be trusted near his own powder-magazine.[1]

---

[1] The following anecdote is characteristic of both of these amphibious commanders in their new capacities and characters:—

The navy of England had been well practised under Cromwell and the gallant Blake.[1] The vessels

---

In the first Dutch war in Charles II.'s reign, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle commanded the fleet on the coast of Sussex, but it was in general observed that the Duke left all things to the conduct and skill of the Prince, declaring modestly, upon all occasions, that he was himself no seaman.

One time, however, a hot dispute arose between them, which will serve to illustrate some part of the Duke's character. When Prince Rupert first spied the Dutch fleet making towards them, the whole of the squadron was so far astern that the Prince thought it absolutely necessary to slacken sail, that they might have time to join. The Duke of Albemarle opposed this eagerly, undertaking that the ships in which they were, with about twenty more, would prove sufficient to beat all the enemy's fleet; at least, to keep them in play till the rest should come up. The Prince, astonished at this unaccountable intrepidity, made the officers on board smile to see him take on himself the timorous, cautious, and prudent part, which did not use to be his custom. He declared he would never consent to such a rashness, as might very probably occasion the loss of the admiral's fleet, in consequence of that loss, which obliged the good old man to yield at last, though with great reluctance. As soon, however, as the bloody flag was set up, before the storm arose which parted the fleets at this time, Mr. Saville and another gentleman-volunteer, being on the quarter-deck, observed him charging a very small pocket-pistol and putting it in his pocket, which was so odd a sort of weapon on such an occasion, that they could imagine no other reason for it except his having taken a resolution of going into the powder-room to blow up the ship, in case at any time she should be in danger of being taken; for his Grace had often been heard to say that he would answer for nothing but that they should never be carried into Holland. Therefore, Saville and his companions, in a laughing way, most mutinously resolved to throw him overboard in case they should catch him going down to the powder-room.—*The Tell-Tale; or, anecdotes expressive of the characters of persons eminent for rank, learning, wit, and humour*, 2 vols. Lond. 1756.

[1] Blake had served the Parliament well in the capacity of a cavalry officer: he defended Taunton gallantly afterwards, but his true genius was only shewn at sea. He was the first naval officer who taught that the best place to fight an enemy was as near him as the ship could reach; he was the first who ventured to fight against forts on shore; and, in short, he was the first

built by ship-money were turned with crushing effect against the Royal cause, and Rupert's naval enterprise afforded Cromwell an excuse for increasing his fleet to counteract it. On the Restoration, the sailors, ever loyal in their nature, were amongst the first amongst his subjects to declare for the King: they escorted him in triumph back to his dominion; and the brave but ill-fated Montague was made Earl of Sandwich for that brief service. All the old Puritan *régime* was effectually changed; even the names of the ships were altered to suit the new order of things; the Naseby became the Royal Charles, and a similar recantation was made throughout the fleet.

Charles II. took as much interest in his navy as he was capable of taking in any thing apart from his sensual pleasures, and this circumstance inspired the sailors with a zeal which there was little else in the nature of their treatment to create. Yachting then became a fashion; with characteristic frivolity, Charles even had a vessel moored opposite to Whitehall, in which he might fancy himself at sea. This childish hobby was appropriately named The Folly, and formed one amongst the many lounging places of the Court.

---

who banished the words "fear" and "impossibility" from a British seaman's vocabulary. He died in August, 1657, aged fifty-nine, and was buried in great state by Cromwell in Henry VII.'s Chapel. At the Restoration his bones were *not* contemptuously removed and thrown into a pit; but his coffin was removed from the vault and buried in the churchyard.—*Clarendon; Campbell.*

In the beginning of Charles's reign, his fleet remained almost equally inactive, with the exception of Lord Sandwich's, and Sir Robert Holmes's expeditions; the former to annoy the pirates of Barbary, and the latter to attack the Dutch settlements in Africa. The latter expedition, indeed, eventuated in an important exploit. Holmes suddenly left the Coast of Africa, sailed across the Atlantic, and reduced the Dutch Settlement of New Netherlands to English rule under the title of New York. In excuse for these assaults, during peace, upon our ancient allies, it was professed that the latter were *jealous* of our commerce, and were preparing measures to humble our naval power. There seems to have been little real ground for this most disreputable commencement of hostilities, and whatever naval glory may have redounded to our name by the following war, its whole political conduct is a stain upon our history.[1]

In 1665 the war began: Rupert was appointed to a joint command of the fleet, but at the last moment he was deprived of it by the intrigues of the Cabal. Just as his ship was weighing anchor, he was obliged to return on shore "with his goods and all his family" [as servants were then called]. The first action took place on the 3rd of June. The Dutch Admiral Opdam had received peremptory orders to fight, and this he was resolved to do, although contrary to his own judgment, and that of his Council of War. When the latter remonstrated, he replied, "I am entirely in your sentiments; but here are *my orders*, to-morrow my head shall be bound with laurel, or with cypress." He fought and fell. The English fleet obtained a signal victory, but it was not followed up, and both the fleets returned to their own shores to prepare for future action. Charles seems now to have been instigated chiefly by freebooting motives. The Dutch commerce was then the greatest in the world, and it was against the merchantmen that the next expedition was undertaken, and proved abortive.

---

[1] Campbell, in his excellent "Naval History," endeavours to exculpate Charles from this war, but he argues against his own facts, and apparently even against his own convictions.

The French now, secretly, took part with the Dutch, and in April, 1666, an English fleet was despatched against each of these continental powers. The Duke of Albemarle[1] commanded that destined to fight the Dutch; Rupert the other, which was to meet the French;[2] we would hope that the Prince was unwilling to fight against the old and faithful friends of his persecuted family. He had in other respects a very undesirable command. The hearts of his sailors alone were in the right place; every thing relating to the service was miserably mismanaged.

---

[1] When Monk was offered the joint-command of the fleet, in 1666, with Rupert, Clarendon timidly broke the Prince's command to him, and Monk did not seem to like it. Afterwards he confessed that he was afraid of his wife, and begged that only Rupert should be known as Admiral for a few days.—*Guizot's Life of Monk, edited by the Honourable Stewart Wortley*, p. 304.

[2] The dividing of this fleet was one of the principal charges against Lord Clarendon.—*Journal of the House of Commons*, p. 10.

How those sailors and their commanders fought, is only to be estimated by comparing their means of fighting with those of their brave antagonists. In Holland, a De Witte decreed what a De Ruyter was to execute; the keen and searching attention of the Republic was bestowed on every detail connected with its naval service; and every sailor fought under the consciousness that the gratitude of his country would honour, while its care protected, him. In the English fleet, the reverse of all this was felt. The honour of our navy was indeed dear to the English People, and immense sums were voted for its maintenance; but the atrocious dishonesty and abject imbecility of those who managed the finances, wasted away the nation's liberality.

The poor devoted sailor, upon whom the safety and honour of his country depended, was not only half-starved upon foul food, but found the curse of peculation in the very powder of his guns, in the very rigging of his storm-beaten ships. The infamous and unmanly vices of the Court were pampered by the money spared from the sailor's mouldy crust; bribery obtained contracts for the supply of rotten cordage, adulterated saltpetre, and refuse provisions. The very hulls that were built by ship-money under the first Charles, were now rotting through the neglect and robbery of the minions of his son.

Under these circumstances, mutinies became frequent; they were the rude remonstrance of the helpless friendless sailors, against the tyranny and wrongs of which they were the victims. But their gallant hearts were loyal still. Their King was personally well known, and personally dear to them; to us, probably, there is no more disreputable monarch in history than Charles the Second; but his presence seems to have obliterated every sentiment, save that of affection; his address fascinated every one, of every class, who fell under its spell.[1]

Charles II. visited the fleet before its departure, soothed and flattered his ill-used seamen, and saw them sail away to spend their lives for his own worthless sake, and that of his infatuated policy.

This was in May. On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of June, a murderous battle was fought between Albemarle and the Dutch. By straining every effort, Rupert only arrived from his distant station in time for the last day's battle, and fought, as ever, gallantly. There is a noble poem, by Dryden, descriptive of the fight :—

---

[1] Under the reign of this King, what the serious portion of the nation called judgements, and the profligates termed instances of ill-luck, fell heavily on the people. Pestilence, fire, and war, in turn, visited the sinful City of London, but they seem not to have touched its heart or even its prosperity. In the year 1664 the Plague broke out, and was quickly followed by the Great Fire of 1666, that annihilated and seems to have burnt out the Plague for ever: for the first time for many ages, in 1667, London heard the sound of hostile guns upon the Thames.

With equal power he does two chiefs create,
  Two such as each seemed worthiest when alone;
Each able to sustain a nation's fate,
  Since both had found a greater in their own.

Both great in courage, conduct, and in fame,
  Yet neither envious of the other's praise;
Their duty, faith, and interest too the same,
  Like mighty partners, equally they raise.

The Prince long time had courted fortune's love,
  But once possessed did absolutely reign;
Thus with the Amazons, the heroes strove,
  And conquer'd first those beauties they would gain.

Together to the watery camp they haste,
  Whom matrons passing, to their children shew,
Infants first vows for them to heaven are cast,
  And future people bless them as they go.

With them no riotous pomp, nor Asian train,
  To infect a navy with their gaudy fears;
To make slow fights and victories but vain;
  But war severely like itself appears.

Our fleet divides, and straight the Dutch appear,
  In number and a famed commander bold;
The narrow seas can scarce their navy bear,
  Or crowded vessels can their soldiers hold.

The Duke, less numerous, but in courage more,
  On wings of all the winds to combat flies;
His murdering guns a loud defiance roar,
  And bloody crosses on his flag-staffs rise.

Both furl their sails and strip them for the fight;
Their folded sheets dismiss the useless air;
Th' Elean plains could boast no nobler sight,
When struggling champions did their bodies bare.

Our dreaded Admiral from far they threat,
Whose battered rigging their whole war receives;
All brave, like some old oak which tempests beat,
He stands, and sees below his scattered leaves.

Straight to the Dutch he turns his dreadful prow,
More fierce th' important quarrel to decide:
Like swans, in long array his vessels shew,
Whose crests advancing do the waves divide.

They charge,[1] re-charge, and all along the sea
They drive and squander the huge Belgian fleet;
Berkeley alone, who nearest danger lay,
Did a like fate with lost Creüsa meet.

The night comes on; we eager to pursue
The combat still, and they ashamed to leave;
Till the last streaks of dying day withdrew,
And doubtful moonlight did our rage deceive.

At morn the Dutch regard with sorrowing eyes,
Till from their main-tops, joyful news they hear
Of ships, which by them would bring new supplies,
And in their colours Belgian lions bear.

* * * * *

But now brave Rupert from afar appears,
Whose waving streamers the glad general knows;
With full-spread sails his eager navy steers,
And every ship in swift proportion grows.

---

[1] These fellows are still soldiers, though afloat.

Already batter'd, by his lee they lay;
  In vain upon the passing winds they call;
The passing winds through their torn canvas play,
  And flagging sails on heartless sailors fall.

When one dire shot, the last they could supply,
  Close by the board the Prince's mainmast bore;
All three now helpless by each other lie,
  And this offends not, and those fear no more.

Old expert Allen, loyal all along,
  Fam'd for his action on the Smyrnian fleet;
And Holmes, whose name shall live in epic song,
  While music numbers, or while verse has feet.

With him went Spragge, as bountiful as brave,
  Whom his high courage to command had brought;
Harman, who did the twice-fir'd Harry save,
  And in his burning ship undaunted fought.

Young Holles, on a Muse by Mars begot,
  Born, Cæsar-like, to write and act great deeds,
Impatient to revenge his fatal shot,
  His right hand doubly on his left succeeds.

Full in the Prince's passage hills of sand,
  And dangerous flats in secret ambush lay,
Where the false tides skim o'er the cover'd land,
  And seamen with dissembled depths betray.

But he unmov'd contemns their idle threats,
  Secure of fame whene'er he please to fight;
His cold experience tempers all his heat,
  And inbred worth doth boasting valour slight.

But when approach'd, in strict embraces bound,
  Rupert and Albemarle together grow,
He joys to have his friend in safety found,
  Which he to none but to that friend would own.

Thus reinforced, against the adverse fleet,
  Still doubling ours, brave Rupert leads the way;
With the first blushes of the morn they meet,
  And bring night back upon the new-born day.

His presence soon blows up the kindling fight,
  And his loud guns speak thick like angry men;
It seem'd as slaughter had been breath'd all night,
  And Death new-pointed his dull dart again.

Thousands were there, in darker fame that dwell,
  Whose deeds some nobler poem shall adorn;
And though to me unknown, they sure fought well
  Whom Rupert led, and who were British born.

The battle was indecisive; the Dutch seem to have had rather the advantage; but the following testimony of the Grand-Pensionary De Witte nobly speaks for itself. "If the English," he says, "were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; our own fleet could never have been brought [again into action] after the first day's fight, if they had been in the other's place; and I believe none but the English could. All that we discovered was, that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships burnt, but that English courage was invincible."[1]

The fleets returned to England to encounter the reproaches and recriminations which naturally follow a great public disappointment. Rupert and Albemarle, of course, were blamed, and the former, says

---

[1] Wiquefort, Hist. de Provinces Unies, liv. xiv. (quoted in Campbell's Admirals, ii. 110.)

Pepys, "was counted always unlucky." The latter, as well as the former, had fought almost with desperation, and indeed, in action, his honesty[1] was beyond all suspicion. The glorious, but ephemeral fame he purchased by the Restoration, had been tarnished by his breach of promise towards political victims afterwards, as well as by the absence of all precautions to prevent Charles II. from returning with excessive prerogative right. But in all other respects he served England well.

Rupert soon afterwards obtained a very unequivocal victory over the Dutch, which rendered him very popular. In the following year he was requested by the House of Commons "to impart the reasons of the late miscarryings;" in consequence of which he wrote, and sometime afterwards published, the following declaration,[1] in which he tells his own story.

---

[1] It is natural that Monk's honesty should be doubted by those to whose hopes it wrought destruction. The only presumption against him seems to be that he prospered not only in his great undertaking, as concerned the public, but in its results as regarded himself. It is seldom that a corrupt or treacherous character bears success with such meekness,* calumnies with such patience,† and danger with such heroism, as this Kingmaker exhibited at Court, in Council, and during the Great Plague. In that terrible time, when death, in its most appalling form, stilled every sound in London, except the unceasing funeral knells, the "roaring of those under the pangs of death," and the blasphemies of the desperate revellers, the Duke was unceasingly present, watchful, generous. His royal *protégé* was as differently employed at Oxford as Nero was when Rome was burning.

* He did Monk the justice to say that "the Duke of Albemarle never presumes upon the services of General Monk."—*Guizot's Life of Monk.*

† Baxter.

PRINCE RUPERT'S NARRATIVE.

I do esteem it a very great happiness that my hearty services for the King and kingdom in the late war are so well accepted by the House of Commons: and since it is desired by them that I should impart what miscarriages I have observed in the management of the said war, and that I should give a particular account concerning the division of the fleet in the year 1666, I shall faithfully do it upon the best recollection I can make; I being with the first summer's expedition, when his Royal Highness commanded, and thereupon I shall only say, in short, if the Duke's orders, as they ought, had been strictly observed, the victory which was then obtained had been much greater, nay, in all probability the whole fleet of the enemy had been destroyed. What other miscarriages happened that summer I cannot speak to, but upon hearsay, being commanded home as soon as that fight was over, and had not my hand in any other action of the war, until it pleased the King to join me with the Lord-General in the command of the fleet. In this expedition that which first appeared of moment is the separation of the fleet, whereof I can say thus much, that the counsel was formed upon the intelligence which was brought of some ships of the French King's being at Belleisle, and that some others were expected there out of Brest, and with the Duke of Beaufort. It was also encouraged by other intelligence that the Dutch were not likely to come abroad in some weeks, so that it was conceived a squadron of our ships might be spared to look after the French, and return in time enough to the body of the fleet before an engagement with the Dutch. With these ships, and in pursuance to the orders I had then newly received from the Duke of York, I set sail upon Tuesday, being the 29th of May, leaving the main body of the fleet with the Duke of Albemarle in the Downs, where we concluded there could be no probable danger from the enemy in case they should come out, because the same wind which would bring them into the Channel would also serve to bring down our fleet to a conjunction with the squadron under my command; and I steered my course westward, till by stress of weather, which happened on Friday following, being the 1st of June, I was driven back again, and came to anchor at St. Helen's Road, where, by a ketch which I had sent before to Portsmouth for intelligence, I received the first notice of the Dutch being abroad, and his Royal Highness's order bearing date the 30th of May, for my return to the fleet, which I was directed to find either in the Downs, or else in the Gunfleet. Whereupon I made all the haste back to the Downs, but the Duke of Albemarle, it seems by order he had received after my parting from him, was gone thence for the Gunfleet; and in passing met the Dutch upon the said 1st of June, and I, meeting no intelligence in the Downs, steered my course on towards the Gunfleet also; and on Sunday the 1st of June met the English and Dutch, who had then been some days engaged. The next miscarriage I shall mention was the intolerable neglect in supplying provisions during the whole summer's expedition, notwithstanding the extraordinary and frequent importunity of our letters, which were for the most part directed to Sir William Coventry as being the fittest person to represent our desire to his Royal Highness, and to the Commissioners of the Navy, of which number he was also one. And in this instance the neglect was so great that we were enforced by three repeated orders in that summer to bring the whole fleet to the short allowance from the 2nd of August to the 23rd of October, when I brought home the fleet. I know upon our complaints accounts were sent us that all had been supplied according to our orders; but I remember also we did then complain that great quantities of wood-bound cask were staved, and much of the provisions, upon surveys, proved defective, also that the gauge of the beer-vessels was twenty gallons in a butt short of what it ought to be, and that bills of credit came with the pursers to the fleet instead of provisions in specie. This want of provisions did manifestly tend to the extraordinary prejudice of his Majesty's service in that whole summer, but most especially after the victory obtained in July fight, when we had carried the fleet on the enemies' coast, and lay there before the Uly, in the way of all their merchant ships, we were enforced, merely for want of provisions, to quit out to Swold Bay.

---

[1] The following naturally told story infuses an air of reality into these transactions:—

"Not long after this, our fleet happening to go near the shore to take in fresh water, Prince Rupert dined with a gentleman who lived in the neighbourhood where they were, and returning on board in a little boat, accompanied only by the Duke of Buckingham, then a youth and a volunteer, and Lord Blaney, suddenly there arose a violent storm, which neither of them seemed to relish. The Prince, in particular, began to talk of Prince Maurice's being cast away in a like accident, upon which the Duke of Buckingham, who was but a sort of fresh-water sailor at that time, began to reflect upon the fate of his family also, calling to mind that his grandfather and three of his brothers had been drowned. The Lord Blaney hearing all this, made them smile in the very midst of their danger, by swearing that, 'though he liked their company very well on shore, he wished himself out of it now, if it were but in an Indian canoe, as he feared the d—d fortune of their families would sink him.'"—*Tell Tale.*

And now I have made mention of the second, I must not forbear to tell you my judgment that the blue squadron was in that action guilty of a great miscarriage, otherwise, in probability, the whole Zealand squadron had fallen into our hands. The want of seamen was also too great to be forgotten, which I believe was occasioned partly by the hopes they had to go into merchant ships and colliers, where their pay was greater, and the hazard less, and partly by the ill-management of those who are intrusted to impress them. In the next place I must remember the horrible neglects of his Majesty's officers, and the workmen of his yards. For the proof thereof there needs but two instances, the one that if the fire-ships which we desired to have supplied to us after the second fight, we having spent the greatest part of ours in that fight, and in the action of the Uly. After above five weeks' importunity we were told we should have five fire-ships out of the Thames at Chatham, where all necessaries were at hand, when in many days we provided as many fire-ships ourselves at Swold Bay, and those which we were promised out of the Thames river came not to us till the want of them was over.

The next is as considerable; that whereas we were in great want against the second fight, of having the Loyal London, Warspite, Cambridge, and Greenwich, which were all ships of so great force, we thought it not fit to sail till they were ready, after we had, with all imaginable importunity, in vain desired the fitting and sending them, we were at last forced to send up Sir Robert Holmes with some of our number out of the fleet, for the three latter, and Sir Jeremiah Smith for the Loyal London, who in a few days brought the said ships to the fleet, where we fitted them ourselves; and though these are very considerable instances, yet the late miscarriage at Chatham dock more eminently prove it. From that expedition where we commanded, I returned home in the beginning of October; but before I came in with the fleet, I sent it as my humble advice to the King, amongst other things which I thought for his Majesty's service, that care should be taken to prevent an attempt upon Harwich, which was to be apprehended some time or other from the enemy, after the fleet should be come in, and his Majesty's commands were accordingly afterwards issued forth for the fortifying both Harwich and Sheerness, which should have prevented any such design. But though many months passed before the Dutch made their attempt, yet nothing had been done to render Sheerness defensible against the enemy, to which neglect we may justly ascribe the burning of the ships at Chatham, and the dishonour that attended it. Last of all, I do esteem it none of the least miscarriages that have been observable in the last war, that no fleet was kept in a body last summer, especially since the enemy was well known to be arming; whereas we had above 18,000 seamen all the while in pay aboard dispersed ships, which, if but a part had been but kept together in the Thames, it had been probably the prevention of the mischief which ensued.

(Signed) RUPERT.

In autumn the fleets were laid up to refit, and Rupert returned into private life. He studiously avoided all communication with the Cabal, and kept himself free from all party politics with an unreproachful success that has seldom been imitated. When Charles so basely sold himself to France, the

Prince retired altogether from his councils, and became more uncourtly than ever.

The wound that he had received in his Flanders campaign had been aggravated by some trifling accident, and broke out virulently, putting him to great torture. It appeared that a particle of the skull had been driven in upon the brain, and it was only by trepanning that the Prince was restored to ease. This circumstance produced the following letter, which I find in the Bromley Collection.

TO PRINCE RURERT.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

As soon as Will. Legge shewed me your letter of the accident in your head, I immediately sent Choqueux to you in so much haste as I had not time to write by him; but now I conjure you, if you have any kindness for me, have a care of your health, and do not neglect yourself, for which I am not so much concerned. I am very glad to hear your ship sails so well. I was yesterday to see the new ship Royal Sovereign launched, and I think when you see her, which I hope you will do very quickly, under Sir J. Lawson, you will say she is the finest ship that has yet been built. The Charles, James, Henry, and some others, are already in the Hope, and men begin to come in reasonably fast; but to make the more speed, yesterday, in council, I ordered there should be an embargo of all things till the fleet were manned. There are one thousand men ready to come out of Scotland and the North, which I hope this north-west wind will quickly bring. I write to you without ceremony, and pray do the like to

---

[1] Bromley's Royal Letters.

me, for we are too good friends to use any. I must again beg of you to have a care of your health; and assure you that I am yours, J. Y.

(James, Duke of York.)

Whitehall, 27th October.

In consequence of this illness, Prince Rupert was prevailed upon to join the giddy Court in its annual visit to Tunbridge Wells; and his sojourn there forms a curious episode in his biography.

Everyone is familiar with Mr. Macaulay's vivid picture of Tunbridge Wells, as it appeared a little later than the time we speak of; but the following description from De Grammont's Memoirs, of this unique and still pleasant watering place, may possess some novelty, and is essential to our subject.— "Tunbridge Wells, (the place of all Europe the most rural and simple, and yet the most entertaining and agreeable,) is about the same distance from London that Fontainebleau is from Paris, and is, at the season, the general rendezvous of all the gay and handsome of both sexes. The company, though numerous, is always select, as the number of those who repair thither for diversion even exceeds the number of those who go thither for health. Everything there breathes mirth and pleasure; constraint is banished, familiarity is established upon the first acquaintance, and joy and pleasure are the sole sovereigns of the place. The company are accommodated with lodgings in little clean and convenient habitations, that lie straggling and separated from each other, a mile and a half all round the Wells, where the company meet in the morning; this place consists of a long alley, shaded by spreading trees, under which they walk while they are drinking the waters. On one side of this alley is a long row of shops, plentifully stocked with all manner of toys, lace, gloves, stockings, and where there is raffling, as at Paris, in the Foire de St. Germain ; on the other side of the walk is the market; and as it is the custom here for every person to buy their own provisions, care is taken that nothing offensive appears on the stalls. Here are young, fair, fresh-coloured country girls, with clean linen, small straw hats, and neat shoes and stockings, who sell game, vegetables, flowers, and fruit; here you may live as well as you wish ; here is likewise deep play, and no want of intrigues. As soon as the evening comes, every one quits his little palace to assemble on the bowling green, where, in the open air, those who choose dance upon a turf more soft and smooth than the finest carpet in the world.

" Never did Love see his empire in a more flourishing condition than on this spot: those who were smitten before they came to it, felt a wonderful increase of their flame; and men who seemed the least susceptible of love, laid aside their natural ferocity, and appeared in perfectly new characters. For the truth of this last observation we shall only relate the change which appeared in the conduct of Prince Rupert. He was brave and courageous even to rashness; but cross-grained and incorrigibly obstinate: his genius was fertile in mathematical experiments, and he possessed some knowledge of chemistry; he was polite even to excess, unreasonably; but haughty, and even brutal, when he ought to have been gentle and courteous: he was tall, and his manners were ungracious; he had a dry ill-favoured visage, and a stern look, even when he wished to please; but when he was out of humour his was a 'physiognomie vraiment de reprouvé.'

"The Queen had sent for the players either that there might be no intermission in the diversions of the place, or, perhaps, to retort upon Miss Stewart by the presence of Nell Gwynne, part of the uneasiness that she felt from hers. Prince Rupert found charms in the person of another player, called Hughes,[1] who brought down, and greatly subdued his natural fierceness. From this time adieu alembics, crucibles, furnaces, and all the black furniture of the forges—a complete farewell to all mathematical instruments and chemical speculations! Sweet powder and essences were now the only ingredients that occupied any share of his attention." [The Count proceeds to state that Mrs. Hughes was not lightly to be won, and valued herself so highly that the Prince's estimation of her, and his sacrifices to obtain her affections, were proportionably increased.] "The King was greatly pleased with this event, for which great rejoicings were made at Tunbridge; but nobody was bold enough to make it the subject of satire, though the same constraint was not observed respecting the follies of other personages."[1]

---

[1] Mrs. Hughes was one of the actresses belonging to the King's company, and one of the earliest female performers. According to Downes, she commenced her theatrical career after the opening of Drury Lane Theatre, in 1663. She appears to have been the first female representative of Desdemona. By Prince Rupert she had a daughter named Ruperta, married to Lieutenant-General Howe, who survived her husband many years, dying at Somerset House about the year 1740. For Mrs. Hughes Prince Rupert bought the magnificent seat of Sir Nicholas Crispe near Hammersmith, now the residence of the Margrave of Brandenburgh, which cost 25,000*l.* the building. From the *dramatis personæ* to Tom Essence, licensed 1676, we find Mrs. Hughes was then on the stage, and in the Duke's company.—*Note to Count Hamilton's Memoirs.*

After this portrait of Prince Rupert, caricatured with malicious wit, it is only justice to add another description from one who was better able to appreciate nobleness of nature than the sarcastic Frenchman.

Lord Orford writes thus:—

"Prince Rupert was fond of those sciences which soften and adorn a hero's private hours; and knew how to mix them with his minutes of amusements without dedicating his life to their pursuit, like us who, wanting capacity for momentous views, make serious study of what is only the transitory occupation of a genius. Had the Court of the first Charles been peaceful how agreeably had the Prince's congenial propensity flattered and confirmed the inclination of his uncle. How the Muse of arts would have repaid the patronage of the monarch when for his first artist she would have presented him with his nephew! How different a figure did the same Prince make in a reign of dissimilar complexion. The philosophic warrior who would relax himself into the ornament of a refined Court was thought a savage mechanic, when courtiers were only voluptuous wits [Lord Orford here inserts the character before quoted from De Grammont, and then adds], "What pity that we, who wish to transmit this Prince's resemblance to posterity on a fairer canvas, have none of these inimitable colours to efface the harsher likeness. We can but oppose facts to wit; truth to satire. How unequal the pencils! yet what these lines cannot do they may suggest; they may induce the reader to reflect, that, if the Prince was defective in the transient varnish of a Court, he at least was adorned by the arts with that polish which also can make a Court attract the attention of subsequent ages."[1]

---

[1] Memoirs of the Count de Grammont, by Count A. Hamilton, vol. iii.

After this adventure at Tunbridge Wells, he returned to his seclusion at Windsor. There he appears to have remained tranquilly, until he was summoned once more to bear arms for the King. The Dutch war had continued to rage with the most injurious effect towards both countries, each maintaining a costly fleet, which was employed rather in injuring the other, than in seeking to end the war. In the beginning of 1667, the Dutch determined to make reprisals on our commerce in the very face of London. The imbecile ministry of Charles was easily blinded; the Queen-Mother, Henrietta Maria, lent her fatal assistance to deceive her son. On the strength of her information and advice, England was left almost defenceless; the people indeed were taxed as heavily as ever; "the national treasury was filled at the cost of sighs and tears, it was emptied to gain the smiles of the riotous company"[1] in the King's harems; the navy remained cradled in winter quarters, and two small squadrons alone were left at sea.

---

[1] Catalogue of Engravers.

On the 7th of June the Dutch fleet sailed exultingly up the Thames, and attacked Sheerness. Albemarle, Spragge, and other zealous officers had made hasty preparations to protect the Medway, but in vain. The Dutch, led by old Roundhead apostates, sailed on in triumph, burst through all obstacles, took or burnt all the English ships that they encountered,[2] and swept the river until they reached Upnor Castle. Hither Prince Rupert had hastened on the first intelligence of the invasion, with such "land forces" as could be collected. He had addressed himself with his usual energy to fortifying his position; and he now awaited the invaders with the quiet resolution into which his youthful daring had matured. The Dutch fleet continued to advance, insultingly scattering their shot on either side of the narrow rivers; their colours flaunting over the old Thames, and English renegadoes piloting their destructive course. They opened the reach where Upnor Castle stands; the fort seemed silenced by very fear; the tall spars were still seen moving on through the midst of those wide meadowy quiet fields. They were within point blank gun-shot of the fort, when the silence was rudely broken. As if by an explosion, the castle was wrapt in fire in a moment; the iron shot went crashing through the Dutchman's timbers, and many a tall spar came toppling down. The sudden fire was maintained so fiercely, that there was no thought of resistance for a moment; as soon as the ships could be got about they fled, and the river was once more purified, as it has ever since remained, from an enemy's insulting presence.

---

[1] Lord John Russell (speaking of the French Revolution).

[2] One of these was the Royal Oak, commanded by Captain Douglas: when he found that his ship was hopelessly on fire, he sent away his crew and lay down to die upon his quarter-deck, saying that a Douglas would never live to bear the reproach of quitting his post. "Whether it be wise," says Sir William Temple in recording this event, "for men to do such actions or no, I am sure it is wise in the State to honour them."

No sooner had the enemy retired, than the Prince returned to his studies in Windsor Castle, of which he was now appointed governor. He seems at this period to have lived the life of a recluse; we only hear of him in the Transactions of the Royal Society, through which his discoveries and inventions were promulgated; and sometimes in the colonial enter-prizes, which then excited great interest in England. The most interesting of these is related in the note below.[1]

It was during these years, that Prince Rupert perfected those scientific and mechanical instruments that I have enumerated in an early period of his history. He also became a partner in several speculations, one of which was the exercise of a patent for boring cannon by the agency of a water-mill, and annealing gun-metal in a glass-house. These appear to have succeeded during the Prince's lifetime, but fell into disuse soon afterwards, for want of skilful superintendance. Except in these transactions we hear nothing of our hero, either in the political or scandalous chronicles of the time. From politics he still kept aloof, disdaining to share the most weak and wicked counsels of the Cabal. He hunted in the Royal forests, and "was much beloved by all the county gentlemen of Berks;" he also seems to have amused himself with a yacht, the sale of which is accounted for by his executor, Lord Craven, in 1682. I do not know from what sources his income was derived, besides the sum of thirty thousand rix dollars which he had obtained from the Emperor of Austria. A relative in Germany left him some property later in life, to which his son Dudley Bard succeeded. His English income consisted of £1500 a year, paid by the Crown for all his past and present services; he had a house in the Barbican, and another in Spring Gardens, in which he died, which was only recently pulled down. He had also a house in Rhenen (on the continent) which Bulstrode says he was in the habit of lending to his friends. For himself, he never left England again, except to fight her battles on the sea.

---

[1] "Grosseling, an enterprising individual, undertook a voyage and landed in Nelson's River (which falls into Hudson's Bay). Having made a survey of the country, he drew up a statement, which he laid before the French Court, representing the great advantages which might be derived from a settlement upon this coast. The French cabinet, prepossessed by the doleful narrative of James's sufferings (one of the early settlers), treated the project as visionary, and turned a deaf ear to his urgent representations. But Mr. Montagu, the English minister at Paris, took a different view of the matter, and sent Grosseling with a letter to Prince Rupert, an enterprising individual, always ready to patronise any public-spirited scheme. Prince Rupert, representing to the King the fair promise of this undertaking, obtained the grant of a ship, with which Captain Zechariah Gillam, accompanied by Grosseling, set sail in the summer of 1668. Gillam, in September of that year, arrived in Hudson's Bay, and entering a river to which he gave the name of Rupert, erected a small stone-fort, which he named Fort Charles, but which did not ultimately become a leading position. Next year the Prince obtained from Charles a charter in favour of himself and nine other persons, conferring an exclusive right to form settlements and carry on trade in Hudson's Bay. This corporation, founded upon principles then prevalent but which have been renounced in most other instances, remains in its utmost force, and continues to shut this part of the dominions of Great Britain against the great body of our people." —*Hugh Murray's Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in North America*, vol. i. p. 132.

With one more fight his history concludes, and it shall be told in the language and the spirit of the time. When the last Dutch war broke out in 1672, the Duke of York was incapacitated from service by the Test Act, and the brave but unfortunate Earl of

Sandwich had fallen a martyr to his sense of honour, which was wounded by a sneer from his Royal Highness.[1] None of the other old Admirals were forthcoming, and Rupert once more left his peaceful laboratory for the quarterdeck. "Though too wise," says the Naval Historian, "to be fond of such a service, he was yet too honest and brave a man to neglect his duty."

The following narration of the expedition is taken from one of those pamphlets in the British Museum that are almost as rare as autographs. The style is somewhat diffusive and verbose, but the story is plainly visible through all its ornaments.

An exact Relation of the several Engagements and Actions of his Majesty's fleet, under the command of his Highness Prince Rupert, &c., 1673.

"I perceive that through the heat of men's manifold contradictions both in Court and City, the story of the whole matter is told only as this and the other faction or affection would have it, by which means the truth of things hath been hidden from his Majesty, and is like to be from the Parliament and people of England, unless there stand forth some faithful relator.

"After a continuation of the war this last summer with the United Provinces had been resolved on by his Majesty, the next thing to be thought on was the appointing a commander-in-chief over the fleet that should be sent forth; and concerning the person, though all men judged the employment of course might continue in the hands of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral of England, yet upon weighty reasons of State, it was at length thought best for the good of this kingdom, which is highly concerned in the safety of the heir-apparent of the Crown, that at present his Royal Highness should be excused from running any further hazard of his person in so dangerous a service; he having already too often exposed himself at sea with high courage and resolution. And therefore his Highness Prince Rupert being nominated as the next fittest person to undertake that command, his Majesty was pleased to resolve thereupon. And with this his Majesty's purpose there immediately ensued a marvellous concurrence of the people's affection in city and country, all over the kingdom, as well in regard of the Royal stock from whence his Highness sprang, as of his high courage, conduct, and long experience in affairs military by sea and land, in this, and many other nations; but yet more in respect of his tried constancy to, and zeal for, the Reformed Protestant profession of religion, and all the interests thereof, for the sake whereof he and his Royal family had long suffered the utmost extremity. The sense whereof was that which chiefly moved the hearts of the people to rejoice in his Majesty's assignation of that most illustrious Prince; it being at such a time when the Parliament had taken cognisance of the confidence and insolence of the Popish party; many of which being crept into places of trust and command, gave an universal jealousy to the kingdom, insomuch that his Majesty and the Parliament saw it necessary, for the breaking of their strength and confidence, to put an universal test upon all men that held any public office or employ by sea or land, in order to the removing of all such, as not submitting to, should be found Popishly affected. But yet, notwithstanding this general approbation and applause of the commander-in-chief, there were a generation of men of another mind, who, having found all their arts and endeavours of diverting his Majesty from this choice to be in vain, tacked about to the old trick of State, of devising how underhand to take off the chariot-wheels of the Prince's expedition, and to clap on dead weight to retard him; and so to handle the matter among all sorts of navy and sea-officers, that partly defect of due preparation, furniture, and supplies might disable him, partly the ill-timing of every requisite; and, finally, the starting of interests, discontents, and little feuds in the fleet, might render the whole enterprise of no more effect than might just suit with their own ends, and if possible bring back the Prince with no more victory than what might please them, and their accomplices. In order hereunto, it is worth the while to consider how pat things were laid and fell out; for our preparations were so delayed that the Dutch got their fleet out before us; and after we were in part ready, it was towards the end of April before the Prince could get his commission and instruction to act by them; so that the Dutch having a design to sink sinkers between the middle grounds, to spoil the going of our ships out and into the river, were very near the effecting of it; and had done it, but that his Highness suspecting it, with much industry got together as many of the fourth and fifth rate ships as he could, and some fire-ships, with which he went quickly out, and defeated the mischief they intended.

---

[1] See Campbell's Admirals, ii. 236; see also Pepys's Diary.

"Which gallant action of his Highness deserves so much the greater estimation, seeing never any Prince went forth upon a war for the public good, and the honour of any nation, under the greater discouragements. For, some persons of high trust under his Majesty had such an influence upon affairs, that when they could no longer hinder the issuing forth of his Highness's commission, they took care so to qualify and curtail it, that they left him not power to make so much a[s] one officer in the whole fleet, unless he could upon request obtain the favour so to do.

"And when his Majesty in his Royal wisdom thought fit to give him a commission to raise a maritime regiment, which was to have been paid out of the establishment of Ireland by my Lord

Ranelagh, they presently cast about how to frustrate this order of the King's, and thereupon offered so specious reasons for it to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, that he was thereby induced to divert his Majesty's purpose in that matter. So there was an end of this commission.

"As for seamen, it is to be noted, that though the Prince made it his business to urge the getting of them betimes; yet, notwithstanding all his solicitations, the order for impressing of seamen could not be got till it was very late, so that it was the month of March before the press began, though in the precedent year it began as early as November. But though it was this year so late as March, yet even then, matters were so carried, that it was impossible for his Highness to be sufficiently manned, seeing the press-warrants were of little effect, being checked by protections which had before been granted to thousands of seamen, and fishermen, and watermen that would have made good seamen. Nevertheless, his Highness abating no whit of his affection and zeal for his Majesty and the nation's service, resolved to break through all discouragements; and as ill-accommodated as he was, seeing the Dutch fleet were got out, braving it upon our coast, did with all expedition hasten forth to sea: being fed at least, and set forward with some empty promises that seamen and necessaries should be sent after him, which proved at length to be but a miserable slur put upon so high a commander; and all other things miserably suited, when after it drew on to the point of action, as will appear in the ensuing part of this relation."

"For on the 27th day of May, which was the day before our first engagement with the enemy, when his Highness perceived they would not admit of a fight in fair sea room, but kept to their advantage, riding within the sands at Schonevelt, he, according to a resolve of a Council of War, his Majesty present, like a magnanimous Prince, resolved to fight them in that very place, rather than permit them to wear away the summer with longer delays, which they seemed mainly to intend; which is the highest proof of courage, the like action having never been attempted in that station before. So all the sands having been sounded some days before, and it having been concluded at a Council of War held on board the Royal Charles, to attack the enemy riding there at anchor in a line between the Road and the Stony Bank, his Highness on the 28th day, about nine o'clock in the morning, commanded the firing of a gun, upon which we loosed our fore-top-sail and weighed, and hoisted the Union Flag on the mizen-peak, which is the signal to sail on towards the enemy. This was accordingly obeyed by a squadron that was ordered out of the several divisions of the fleet, consisting in all of thirty-five frigates, and thirteen fire-ships, who went with an easy sail, the wind at S.S.W. In the meanwhile the body of the French, all, except some who straggling got into our division, did indeed behave themselves very gallantly, made little or no sail, but kept in the rear of us, though they saw the Hollander stretch it to the northward. Then the Prince put forth the red flag on the fore-top-mast head, so all our commanded ships went ahead, and by twelve o'clock at noon engaged the enemy's van, commanded by Van Tromp. The Prince himself also engaged two hours before the French, in which time we so pressed Tromp, that he was forced to give way, and retire as far as the sands would give him leave. Then the Count d'Estres and the French squadron became at length engaged with De Ruyter, which prospered not so well, for they bore him not down, but rather left him. And De Ruyter, not to be behind with them in kindness, quitted them, and came to his Highness, whose squadron being too near the shore, was, for that reason, necessitated to stand the other way to such degree, that had it not been for fear of the shoals, we had driven them into their harbours, and given his Majesty at that time a better account of them, notwithstanding the ill accommodations that we were under, more particularly in the Royal Charles, his Highness's own ship, which proved so crank-sided, and fetched so much water in at the ports, that her lower tier of guns could not be made use of, though it was a very easy gale that we had during this engagement, the issue whereof was, that the enemy had many men slain, many ships disabled, and some destroyed, yea, and De Ruyter and Tromp must have been burnt by our fire-ships, had they done their duty. We saw two ships sunk. The French say they saw one burnt, two disabled, and three run ashore. The loss on our side was very inconsiderable, two of our ships being only disabled, viz., the Cambridge and Resolution; very few common men were lost, and only these officers, Capt. Fowlis, Capt. Worden, and Capt. Finch. Colonel Hamilton had his leg shot, of which, returning home, he died at London. All the rest that engaged came off very bravely."

From this narration, which embodies the Prince's remonstrance, in almost his own words, it is easy to perceive the miserable manner in which the business of the State was conducted by the abandoned Charles and his contemptible ministry. That most unkingly Monarch had sold himself and his people's honour into the hand of France; and though compelled to use the services of his gallant cousin, and his fleet, every base and atrocious artifice was exerted to frustrate their best efforts. Rupert and his seamen were sent forth, like Uriah, in the hope that they might perish, and leave Charles to the unopposed enjoyment of his French alliance. The plot was defeated by the gallantry of its destined victims. Prince Rupert's own ship was in so bad a condition, that she was scarcely kept afloat, yet "he performed wonders." The gallant Earl of Ossory[1] and Sir Edward Spragge displayed extraordinary conduct and courage, and Van Tromp was obliged to shift his flag four times into the following strangely-named ships: "from the Golden Lion to the Prince on Horseback, thence to the Amsterdam, and thence to the Comet."

The battle was undecided. A few days later another fight took place, in which also the victory was doubtful, and from which the French allies stood quite aloof. On the 8th of June the English fleet returned to the Nore, and Prince Rupert hastened to London to report his actions. His energetic and indignant remonstrances overcame even the apathy and treachery of Charles. He was induced to accompany the Prince Admiral to the disgracefully neglected fleet; he was there obliged to read with own eyes the causes of the incapacity and mutinous nature of his navy; he was even shamed into giving orders for supply; Rupert saw these orders executed on the spot; in a few days more he was again at sea, and alongside the enemy. Again, the French fleet was in attendance, and again lay by without engaging.[2] Again the Prince fought desperately, and again without a victory, but without defeat. This action took place on the 11th of August, 1673, and was the last in which Rupert ever served his unworthy King. Before taking leave of this subject I am tempted to introduce the anecdote related in the note.[1] It throws some light on the difficulties and impracticabilities of Rupert's command.

---

[1] Whose touching yet proud elegy his father, the Marquis of Ormond, pronounced in these words soon afterwards: "I would not change my dead Ossory for all the living sons in Christendom."

[2] It may be easily understood how fatal the effect of a large, idle, and suspicious fleet must have been, when lying by to watch the issue of the fight. What, too, must have been the feelings of the combatants when the following anecdote got abroad: "What can the French have been about?" said one Dutchman to

---

another. "Why, you fool," replied the other, "they have hired the English to fight for them, and all their business here is to see that they earn their wages." So transparent were their boasted politics.—*Campbell,* ii. 159.

[1] "And here a characteristic incident took place. The land forces for this expedition had been encamped at Blackheath under M. de Schomberg, afterwards renowned as an Anti-Jacobin general, and already, it appears, suspected by the Stuarts. When the Marshal transferred his head-quarters "from his tent on shore to his galley on the sea," he selected the Greyhound frigate for his accommodation : on the complaint of his land-officers that they found it difficult to distinguish the general's ship amongst such a multitude, M. de Schomberg proposed to hoist his own standard, no doubt a broad and conspicuous one. He inquired of the young Duke of Buckingham if he saw any objection, and the boyish captain referred him to the commander of the ship. To be brief: up went the foreigner's standard, to the indignation and amazement of Prince Rupert, who fired two guns to attract the Marshal's attention to his signal for lowering the obnoxious flag, and at the same time sent an officer on board the Greyhound with peremptory orders to remove it. M. de Schomberg, jealous of his authority, sent the captain to remonstrate, and meantime the standard continued to flaunt above the fleet. When Rupert saw this officer come on board, leaving the flag still floating in defiance of his orders, he ordered him "to be clapped into the bilboes," and sailing up to the Greyhound, threatened to sink her on the moment unless he were obeyed. The flag quickly disappeared, and the Prince and the Marshal sent mutual complaints of this transaction to the King. With the usual imbecility of his mean Council, no measures were taken to soothe the exasperated feelings of either commander or of either branch of the service. The Prince's complaint was sulkily disregarded, and De Schomberg was ordered to disembark his forces at Yarmouth, where they lay idle and ineffective all the summer."

The devoted but unfortunate Prince now retired once more to those studies and pursuits that had so often consoled him under such reverses and disappointments as it has fallen to the lot of few persons to suffer in uninterrupted succession.

He had now ample leisure to look back upon his varied life, with all its sad vicissitudes. The most daring man of his age, he had outlived almost all his brave companions in arms:[1] the gallant and good Lord Craven alone survived him of his earlier friends.[2] His sister, the Abbess of Maubuisson, was still living, though dead to him; but the Princess Sophia was still his friend, and to her this last letter was addressed:—

DU PRINCE RUPERT A LA DUCHESSE D'HANOVER, SA SŒUR.

Le porteur de la presente, le Sir Scelton, Envoyé Extraordinaire de sa Majesté notre Roi en vos quartiers, se fera connaitre mieux par son mérite. Il m'a assuré qu'il

---

[1] Of these I shall only mention two of the most dissimilar in fate and character. Honest Will. Legge, whose career would present one of the most interesting biographies in our history, had died, esteemed and honoured, in 1680. Goring had carried his genius, his courage, and his villainy to market on the Continent, had served under Spain, and finally assumed the garb of a Dominican friar, and died in a convent-cell.

[2] He was executor to Prince Rupert, and Combe Abbey, rich in all the most interesting memorials of these times, still bears witness of the affection with which its noble proprietor was regarded by the Palatine family, whom he had so generously befriended. I am indebted to the present Earl of Craven for the perusal of his ancestors' accounts, as executor, from which I have made the extracts that conclude this work. These accounts are beautifully written, and are signed by Mrs. Hughes and her daughter Ruperta, releasing Lord Craven from all claims on Prince Rupert's estate.

est fort porté pour les intérêsts de notre maison, et je ne doute pas qu'il ne suive ses instructions, et ne vous donne toute sorte de satisfaction. Je vous assure que je le trouve fort honnête homme, et je ne doute aucunement que vous n'en soyez, satisfaite. Il vous pourra dire les nouvelles de ce lieu, et ainsi je ne vous en ecrirai point. Je vous dirai seulement qu'il y a beaucoups de gens qui serait bien aises de l'affaire de Monsieur le Duc votre fils derechef sur pied.[1] Peutêtre cet envoyé vous en dira quelque chose lequel je vous recommende, et suis à jamais à vous et à vos services, chère sœur. RUPERT.[2]

A Whitehall, le 4e Decembre, 1681.

---

[1] Savoir le mariage du Roi George avec la Princesse Anne, ensuite Reine.

[2] Gargan, Receuil des Pièces; Collection of MSS. presented by George IV. to the British Museum, 940, 272, A.

The subjoined gleanings may also possess some interest:—

Received of Richard Mounteney, Esq., the sum of threescore pounds for one year's creation-money, due to me at Michaelmas last past. I say received this 16th of January, 1676, £60.

RUPERT.

This is a true copy of the original, in the last payment made to his Highness for his creation-money. Certified this 17th December, 1679, for my father.

Per R. MOUNTENEY, Jun.

I have not made any payment to his Highness Prince Rupert for creation-money. Certified this 17th of December, 1679.

RICHARD KENT.

Received of Thomas Bennett, Esq., the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, being in full of my two pensions due unto me at Lady-day last the date hereof. I say received this twenty-fourth day of May, one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine, £1500.

Per me, RUPERT.

SIR ROBERT VYNER,

I desire you to deliver thirty ounces of gilt plate for his Highness Prince Rupert, his new year's gift, as Vice-Admiral of England for this year, 1676.

Your servant,

THOMAS TYNDALE.

Jewel House, March 20, 1676.

Henceforth, Prince Rupert's name does not appear in any historical document. In public he was scarcely ever seen, except when in attendance at the Board of Trade, of which he was an active and zealous member. He was also Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was long celebrated as the "seaman's friend," and as the generous patron "of all learned, ingenious, and public spirited persons.[1]" He was even accused of too far encouraging projectors in what were then called visionary pursuits, though now familiar and prosperous branches of industry.

"In respect to his private life, he was so just, so beneficent, so courteous, that his memory remained dear to all who knew him. This I say," continues the narrator of his late exploits, "of my own knowledge, having often heard old people in Berkshire speak in raptures of PRINCE RUPERT." [1]

In 1681 I find the following anecdote: it is the last trace that I have discovered of this straightforward and honourable man in public life:—

"Mr. Speke, the father of that Speke who took a lead in promoting the Revolution of 1688, being in 1681 elected knight of the shire for Somersetshire, in opposition to the influence of the Court, a libellous charge was made against him by those who wished to gain favour there, by which he was accused of having asserted that 'he would have

---

[1] Campbell's Admirals, ii. 230.

40,000 men to assist the Duke of Monmouth against the Duke of York whenever there should be occasion.' Upon which he was by a warrant from the Secretary of State summoned before the Council Chamber, where he was attended by several of the nobility and gentry of the West of England to the number of forty and upwards. He then made his defence, with the spirit becoming an English gentleman, in the presence of the King and Prince Rupert, putting the King in mind of his faithful services to the Royal cause, and declaring that he never had or would be concerned in any action unworthy of his former character and loyal behaviour, yet he never would violate the obligation he conceived himself to be under to his country, and would, therefore, firmly oppose a Popish succession.

"Prince Rupert then stood up, and desired the favour of the King that Mr. Speke might be ordered to withdraw; which being done, his Highness confirmed all that Mr. Speke had said of his faithful services to the Crown; and added one circumstance more, which Mr. Speke thought would not have seemed handsome to mention. He told the King that when he was at the siege of Bridgewater, in the greatest difficulties for want of money, Mr. Speke sent him one thousand broad pieces, of which he was so far from soliciting the reimbursement that he had not seen or heard from him since that time. He further suggested what advice he thought proper to give him on that occasion, upon which that false accusation was dismissed, and the next morning after the Prince sent one of his gentlemen, Mr. Doucet, to invite Mr. Speke to dine with him, which honour he accepted, and was received and entertained in the most obliging manner by his Highness.[1]"

The brief remainder of Prince Rupert's existence was passed in tranquillity and retirement; a calm and quiet evening closing in after his life's stormy day. The philosophical veteran is still visible to our imagination, as he dwelt in the Old Tower at Windsor, surrounded with armour, and strange implements, and strange old books. The walls were hung over with maps of countries that he would have visited, and plans of battles that he might have fought. As he gazed from his citadel on the matchless scenery that surrounds it, he could trace the course of many a midnight march and bold assault. He had seen many of his faithful troopers perish on the very slopes beneath his eyes;[2] and farther off, to the very horizon, there was no town that had not echoed to the tramp of his bold troopers, no church-tower that had not given warning of his march. Those troopers had all passed away; the very name of Cavalier was almost forgotten; the cause for which they had fought and fallen was now triumphant, yet in dishonour, and he, their leader, was estranged, if not exiled, from the King he had served too well.

---

[1] Secret History of the Happy Revolution, 1688, by the principal transactor in it, Hugh Speke. London, 1715.

"Hugh Speke was a young man of good family, but of a singularly base and depraved nature. His love of mischief and of dark and crooked ways amounted almost to madness. To cause confusion without being found out was his business and his pastime, and he had a rare skill in using honest enthusiasts as the instruments of his cold-blooded malice."—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. i. p. 105.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 50, 51–81, &c.

Doubtless the Royal recluse had ample food for his meditation. All men of activity in youth are thoughtful in their age; retrospect is the ruminating of the mind, whereby memory is changed into experience, and becomes profitable towards a future life, either in this world or the next. In the retrospect of Prince Rupert's life, as regarded his fellow-men, there was little to visit him with self-reproach; if his career had been unprosperous, it had been unstained by one dishonourable act: he had striven manfully to perform what he esteemed to be his duty; in council and in camp he had been ever fearless and disinterested; he had endeavoured to promote the prosperity of his adopted country with grateful solicitude; and when the country and the King had fallen under the power of the Cabal, he had retired from all participation in the disgraceful proceedings that he was unable to resist.

> "When impious men bear sway,
> The post of honour is a private station."

And that station he was contented to occupy until the hour of his death.

Of the manner in which his later days were past, we can only judge from secondary evidence. His Executors' accounts[1] prove that he was still fond of hunting; that he kept a small and unostentatious pack of hounds, and that he possessed few other luxuries. He was, in truth, essentially English in his nature, in his principles, and even in his pursuits, was mindful of old friends and old servants, and even of old horses. He appears to have seen little of Mrs. Hughes[2] latterly, and to have been still less under her influence. He bequeathed her, indeed, the half of his personal property, but she was obliged to account accurately for all that she already possessed, and to share the value of it with her daughter Ruperta. This lady married General Howe, and Prince Rupert's blood is still continued through her line in the family of Sir Robert Bromley.[3]

On the 29th of November, 1682, Prince Rupert died, in his house at Spring Gardens, aged sixty-three: his death was caused by a pleurisy and fever.[4] He left no more honest, brave, or true-hearted man behind him.[5]

---

[1] See Appendix H., at the end of the volume.

[2] She continued on the stage long after his death.

[3] Admiral Sir Robert Bromley, Bart., of Stoke Park, where there are some fine portraits, bequeathed by Rupert to his daughter: from one of these the engraving in the frontispiece to the first volume is taken.

[4] Historian's Guide (1701), p. 148.

[5] 1682.—Of the eminent persons that died this year we shall begin with Prince Rupert. One, of whom much has been said

in this and the last volume, who, after innumerable toils and variety of heroic actions both by land and sea, spent several years in sedate studies, and the prosecution of chemical and philosophical experiments, with which the King was very much pleased and delighted. He died on the 29th of November, in the sixty-third year of his age, generally lamented; having maintained such good temper and exact neutrality in the present unhappy divisions, that he was honoured and respected by men of the most differing interests.—*Echard's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 1023.

APPENDIX

A.

The following important document is, I believe, quite unknown. It purports to be a speech intended for utterance in the House of Lords. It appears, however, to have been really adapted for the King's private perusal only. It contains a gentlemanlike but resolute vindication of great service rendered to the Crown of England, unrecompensed by the late King, and probably unacknowledged by his Majesty, to whom it was addressed. It will be remembered that the writer was the Marquis of Worcester, who published the "Centenary of Invention." I am indebted for the copy of it to the kindness of the Duke of Beaufort.

[The italics are mine.—Ed.]

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

Sire,

To ease your Majesty of a trouble incident to a prolixity of speech and a natural defect of utterance which I accuse myself of, I have presumed here to set down summarily in writing what I desire, if your Majesty approve thereof, to speak in the House of Lords, whereby your Majesty may gather how far (some things being rectified) I am confident of myself to serve you, praying your Majesty's favourable construction of what I shall endeavour candidly to submit unto your Majesty.

In the first place, according to your most gracious commands laid upon me at the Hague, when I offered to make my Lord Chancellor privy to what I should at any time presume to offer to your Majesty's transcendent judgment, *having sufficiently suffered for treating with the late King, of happy memory, alone,* to which request of mine you were pleased to give this most gracious and never-to-be-forgotten reply, that, notwithstanding you would have me first to acquaint yourself therewith, and then only to such as your Majesty should consent unto, and think proper for it: in pursuance whereof I most humbly offer this following discourse, which I shall with a most ready and implicit obedience augment, diminish, or alter, as your Majesty shall think fittest; disputing nothing, much less wavering anything, that your Majesty shall command either as to substance or circumstance.

My Lords,

Amongst Almighty God's infinite mercies to me in this world, I account it one of the greatest that his Divine goodness vouchsafed me parents as well careful as able to give me virtuous education, and extraordinary breeding at home and abroad, in Germany, France, and Italy, allowing me abundantly in those parts, and since most plentifully at my master of happy memory, the late King's Court, by which means, had it not been my own fault, I ought to have become better able and more capable to serve Almighty God, my King and country, which obligatory ends of theirs have I always had in my eyes, as drawing and sucking them thence, it being certainly the greatest and surest portions parents can leave to their children, since breeding and knowledge cannot be taken from them, when as riches and possessions are fading and perishable, witness my own case, my Lords. Yet by dear bought experience and their great expenses, for which I honour the happy memory of my most beloved parents, more than for my very life, drawn from them, they giving me by the one but my being, and by the other my *bene* *esse.* Whereby I find nothing more certain than that the way to make oneself considerably useful to his Prince and nation, is the surest means for him to become cherished by them, which they then do for their own sake, not his, though he had spent and lost above 700,000*l.* or 800,000*l.* sterling; and narrowly escaped several times, both by sea and land, imminent dangers, and long and close imprisonment and a scaffold; threatening death, as I have done, "*Experto crede Roberto,*" my Lords; yet happy is this day unto me, wherein I have the honour, sitting amongst your Lordships, to express from my heart that I have not the least repining thought within me, though I had suffered ten times more for so good a cause, and so gracious and obliging a master as the late King, of happy memory, was unto me. And for so majestical and promising a Prince as my now sovereign is, whom God long preserve; and, morally speaking, cannot do amiss, whilst he hearkens to so wise and great council, and so tender of his good and welfare as your Lordships, assisted by so discreet, experienced, and well affected persons as sit now in the honourable House of Commons, the whole kingdom's representatives. And may your Lordships be ever as tender of your innate privileges, members, and birthrights, as they of theirs, and both of you equally likewise tender of his Majesty's just and undoubted prerogatives, upon which two hinges, or rather bases, that is our most gracious King's prerogatives and the birthright of his subjects, this excellent government of King and Parliament outvies and excels all other in the world. Let them, therefore, my Lords, hold together as the surest props of a settled kingdom, his Majesty's power consisting in nothing more than in the greatness of your Lordships, who are, as well by Divine Providence as human policy, allotted to be as it were the medium between the King and the people; that is, to enterprize yourselves as mediators if the King's supreme authority should become severe, which cannot be feared from so gracious a Prince, as also to be curbers of the people's rustic stubbornness, if they should prove insolent, which cannot likewise happen to a nation that hath so lately smarted for such inconveniences, as, had the Lord's former greatness and power been continued in them, could never have happened; for as I should with the old saying, no bishops, no king, so may I boldly aver that no power of temporal Lords being extant, there will be neither bishop or king. But I am too tedious, my Lords; yet what I further shall presume to say, will need no eloquence, being upon a theme pleasing, as I humbly conceive, to the minds of all your Lordships, there being none of you whose birth brings you unto this place; but so much generosity possesses your hearts, that you conclude and harbour a firm resolution to believe and follow that noble and heroic maxim, "Beatius est dare quam accipere," since "Beneficium accipere est libertatem vendere," a thing beneath your Lordships; according, then, to which maxim, as having the honour to be a member of this House, esteeming in the first place the right of peerage, even before the titles of earl, marquis, or duke; as a peer, therefore, I say of this House, I shall, with your Lordships' approbation, humbly offer a present unto his most gracious Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign, a present, my Lords, which cannot be done without you, and fit to be owned by a House of Lords, it being no less than to raise an auxiliary troop for his Majesty's Life-guard, of an hundred horse, and commonly called in France an hundred meistres; that is each cavalier to keep a servant with a led horse, as well as his own, and one of them to be worth 100*l*. The whole troop shall amount the first day unto upwards of 10,000*l*., besides arms and equipage accordingly; nay, my Lords, every one of this troop shall be of that quality and power as to be capable to raise at his Majesty's command an hundred men in fourteen days; and at the entering into the troop shall furnish into his Majesty's storehouse one hundred foot-arms, two parts in fire-arms, and the third pikes, at his own proper cost and charges, and marked by him, there to be kept till his Majesty's occasions be to raise men accordingly; but God long preserve his Majesty from needing of them; yet if at any time, then will his Majesty have in readiness at a fortnight's warning ten thousand men, without costing his Majesty or the kingdom sixpence, till they be raised and armed. And that most worthy nobleman, the Earl of Northampton, who, according to the Spanish saying, "so many brothers united so many castles,"[1] hath approved himself to be such in gallantry and strength for his King and kingdom's defence, is desirous and willing through his zeal to his Majesty's service, to be but lieutenant to the said troop. But the whole troop, consisting of such persons qualified as abovementioned, volunteers, and not serving for pay or gain, will deservedly require not to be put upon common services, and not to be commanded but by his Majesty or his most deserving general the Duke of Albemarle, and they themselves not to be tied to daily duties, but to have liberty to substitute some gentleman of quality, or an experienced officer, to serve for him at any time when his Majesty requires not his personal appearance, and that the captain of the troop gives way unto it. I presume, my Lords, to nominate my Lord of Northampton but as second to me, because his goodness and zeal to his Majesty's service makes his lordship contented to give me the precedence as Captain, though far less worthy, and shall indeed be but a servant to his lordship and the rest of the troop, in order to his Majesty's command, and the welfare of his tenderly beloved people. The rest of the troop shall be nominated when your Lordships shall approve of the motion, and his Majesty vouchsafe an acceptance thereof; they shall all of them be approved persons in zeal, loyalty, and allowed by you, and do ambition the honour of being called a troop of the House of Lords, and being so termed, and most of them your members, I dare without vanity affirm that no King in Christendom but may boast of such a troop; and it will not only be a safety to his Majesty's person, but an honour to the whole nation, and an evident testimony of your Lordship's constant loyalty and zeal to both King and kingdom, and will keep up the honour of this House, and not subject again to be thrust out of doors; and I beseech your Lordships that I may be rightly understood, for it is my duty to his Majesty, and the honour I bear to this House, and not the ambition of being Captain of the said troop, that makes me to motion the raising thereof; for as I acknowledge that there are many greater persons in the House, as well titular as real, in merit and power, any of whom, if they please to undertake it, I shall with more joy and readiness serve as a trooper therein, than to have the command thereof.

---

[1] The Earl of Northampton, who fell at Hopton Heath, left five sons in arms for the King. The young Earl fought as gallantly as his father for the cause.

My second humble offer is disposable by your Lordships, is at my own cost and charges, but under your Lordships' name and approbation; and out of the accruing profits of my Water-commanding Engine, to cause to be erected a competent ordinary, affording as well wine as meat, for one meal a day, for forty indigent officers, such as the calamity of the late times have brought to so pressing necessities, as none of your Lordships, I am confident, but is very sensible thereof, especially of such persons who—had not their zeal to their King and country transported them—might have lived plentifully of their own; yet if your Lordships' commiserating eyes look not speedily upon them, may follow the destiny of some others of qualitive, yea colonels, and never were under my command; yet I never made distinction when his Majesty's honour or service was interested, or his well-deserving subjects suffered, and were within my power of relief, for whose burials it hath been my good fortune to pay; they not leaving behind them to the value of an angel; and I humbly conceive this act of charity worthy your Lordships' owning, since your Lordships' cheerfully passing the act of my Water-commanding Engine enableth me thereunto; and I most humbly offer this little testimony of gratitude, to be under your name thus employed. And I intend there shall be so good order given therein, within six months, as that there shall be a stipend given to a person to read unto them during their meals, either of military affairs or history, the better to avoid frivolous discourse tending to quarrels and quaffing.

Thirdly, in favour and benefit of the commonalty as well as your Lordships, and for the general good and honour of this most famous City of London, I most humbly offer, under your Lordship's name and protection, to cause a fair causeway to be made, upon which, without disturbance, two carts may pass one by the other, for two miles together, at four of the greatest avenues to the City, as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen shall best advise; and at the end of each of the four causeways, an hospital and house of correction, to be erected and endowed with a perpetuity of five hundred pounds a-year to each house; and this pious work to begin within two years, and to be finished within seven.

Fourthly—and, indeed, I should have begun with it, according to the true rule, "A Jove principium,"—I do humbly offer, in honour of this house, to cause one thousand pounds a-year, for ten years, from Michaelmas come twelvemonth, to be allotted towards the building of Paul's, according as his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London and now Bishop of Winchester, together with the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, shall set forth and may continue:—a memorable gift from the House of Lords. And thus, I humbly conceive, to have offered an acknowledgment of thankfulness both to his Majesty, and to your Lordships, Spiritual and Temporal, and for the honourable House of Commons, for passing the act of my Water-commanding Engine; and to improve this my humble thankfulness, shall be my daily exercise and study, no ways meaning that what here I offer shall set a period thereunto, so as your Lordships will be pleased to set your helping hands to remove some misconstructions and personal inconveniences, which, if not diverted from my mind, and from a too generally received opinion, though upon false grounds, and not appearing otherwise than false; I beseech your Lordships to be so tender of a member of yours, as to contribute to the vindicating me therein, whereof no ways doubting but that your Lordships will remove such an absolute *remora* to all my intended services; and, therefore, I will presume to lay my case openly and cheerfully before you, not doubting but that, at your Lordships' intercessions, his most gracious Majesty — having given way that I should speak thus before your Lordships — will vouchsafe a concurrence, and suffer himself to be disabused, and such false and malicious opinions to be eradicated out of his princely mind, as have been endeavoured, by either envy, malice, or ignorance, to be rooted therein, and so certainly have obstructed the natural influence of grace and favour, which could not otherwise but have been the effects of so great a Sun as shines within a throne of so much goodness and majesty. Now, whether my merits have been considerable, I beg leave here to set down, not as a trumpet to proclaim them, but narrative wise, modestly, yet truly, for your Lordships' better information, amusing myself in some things with the same candour and freedom as to vindicate myself, in others desiring to stand or fall by your Lordships' just judgment, and his Majesty's gracious proceeding therein; no further rely-ing even upon his Majesty's most gracious act of general pardon, than in compliance with others. His Majesty's subjects have taken it out, yet with so great a reluctance, through the clearness of my heart, not to have deserved for it, that the Lord upon the Woolsack was forced to chide me to it, through his tenderness of my good, and, as I humbly conceive, a further apprehension than I could have of a necessity thereof; for which his tender care I acknowledge thankfulness, yet, at the same time, I must humbly ask leave to stand upon my justification, humbly praying to be rightly understood, for I do it not out of pride or vain glory, but purely "Me defendendo," and if any body, "Se defendendo," kills another, the law quits him, much more will your Lordships pronounce me not guilty of arrogance, though I should arrogate to myself a praiseworthy desert, and not, through too much modesty, be mealy-mouthed, and not discover what of right appertains to the blessed memory of my dead father, and even my own commendations, crying with Virgil, "Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves; sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves; sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves; sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes." Know, then, my noble Lords, that here I speak not to derogate from the merit of the Roman Catholics from their duty and love to their Sovereign, we having all of us, with an unanimous resolution, *nem. con.*, that is to say, no one gentleman of quality throughout the whole nation, but has stuck to the cause, adventuring his life, and lost his whole fortune therein; yet give me leave to aver it, boldly, that all the Catholics of England assisted not my father, or me, to the value of five pounds, without real security for it, and such, indeed, as at this time lieth heaviest upon me; and this I aver as in the presence of Almighty God and your Lordships. In the second place, my Lords, how came the then Marquis of Hertford, after his defeat in the West with recruits to his Majesty, at

Oxford, but my father's means and mine. The forces that I sent with him had cost me eight thousand pounds; and two thousand pounds my father lent him, ready money. How came Sir John Byron's regiment of horse to be first raised, but by five thousand pounds in gold, given him by my father? How came the Forest of Dean to be reduced; Goodrich strong Castle to be taken; Monmouth itself, with its garrison, to be surprised; Chepstow, Newport, and Cardiff to be taken and secured for his Majesty, but by my forces and my father's money? How came Ragland Castle to be first fortified and last rendered, but fifty thousand pounds disbursed therein by my father?

How came his Majesty's army to be considerable before Edgehill fight but by the men I brought, and how was his Majesty recruited at Gloucester side, even after the defeat given by Waller to my men. God forgive those of the King's party, who were the occasion that fifteen hundred gentlemen was surprised, and I not despatched from Oxford until the day after: yet, my Lords, at fourteen days' warning I brought four thousand foot and eight hundred horse to the siege of Gloucester, paying them 6,000*l.* down upon the nail at Gloucester, besides my troop of Life Guard, consisting of six score noblemen and gentlemen, whose estates amounted to above three score thousand pounds a-year, most of whom I furnished with horse and arms, which of a sudden they could not do themselves, for I was then master of thirty-four horses in my stable, for the word of which I have refused 100*l.*, and above forty others lonely worth 50*l.* a horse. I kept a table for the said troop, not only at Gloucester side but all the way to the west, without so much as making use of free quarter, but all upon the penny, for General Raven complained of me to the King, who graciously and smilingly reprehending me publicly, I desired to know my accuser, and called my Lord-General Raben, afterwards made Earl of Bradford before his Majesty, who, objecting that it was of ill example and made them to be thought the more burdensome, my humble reply was, that I yielded to his Excellency to be the better soldier, but still to be a soldier of fortune here to-day, and God knows where to-morrow, and therefore I needed not care for the love of the people, but though I were killed myself I should leave my posterity behind me, towards whom I would not leave a grudge in the people, but whilst I could serve his Majesty upon my own purse and credit I would readily do it, and afterwards leave it to such as his Lordship.

I confess I raised this troop without my father's consent first asked; his Majesty's peremptory commands and the shortness of time requiring, and I confess his Lordship checked me for it, and said I had undone myself thereby, and I replied that 5000*l*. or 6000*l*. would not undo me, the horses being all my own already, and the arms, by accident, coming to Bristol afforded a sudden and cheaper means for it. My father answered, that he did allow that 6000*l*. nor 16,000*l*. would not undo me, but the consequence would be that the love and power I had in my country would be perspicuous, although I should have thanks from the King, yet others, though his Majesty's well-wishers, yet, through envy, they would hate me for it, which I confess I have found too true, and my services have been more retarded by those who called themselves the King's friends than obstructed by his enemies.

Pardon me, my Lords, if I detain you a little longer, descending to some particulars as near as I can call to mind, and beginning first to tell your Lordships that I was not privy nor present with his Majesty at Greenwich, when he first took his resolution for the North, and removed without the Queen to Theobald's, from which he was pleased to write me a lamentable letter by the hands of Sir John Byron,[1] averring that he had but 600*l.* and 300*l.* of which was given to defray his horses, which the *Marquis of Hamilton, then Master of the Horse, refused to do, fearing to displease the Parliament;* but upon such a lamentable complaint, and pressing necessities of my dear master, yet no ways advising him unto the journey.

I sent him to Theobald's . .	£3000
To Huntingdon, after his departing from Theobalds	3000
To Nottingham	4000
To York	8000

And took order for a table, to be kept for several experienced officers, who by this means were kept from taking arms for the Parliament, and were ready for the King's service, and the defraying of their debts here, their journey into York, and their table there, which none of them but two knew it came from other hand than the King's privy purse, stood me in . . £1500

---

[1] SIR JOHN BYRON TO THE EARL OF WORCESTER.

MY MOST HONOURED LORD,

Your Lordship hath honoured me with a title which is above any other that can be given me, and of which I shall ever endeavour to make myself worthy by all real expressions of faithful and humble service. It was my misfortune to be from home when Sir John Somerset came, and though I acquainted his Majesty therewith, upon whom I then attended, yet he would not permit me to go to him for a day or two, having some other service to employ me in by reason of his journey to Leicester, where it was thought he would have had some opposition; but upon his Majesty's approach his enemies fled, Hazelrigge, Sir Arthur, the chief of them, was said to be lurking hereabouts, whereupon the King commanded me and some other gentlemen to go out and see if we could apprehend him; but, though we used the best diligence we could, riding both day and night, yet we came short of him.

This is the cause of the delay in returning your Lordship an answer, for which I hope your Lordship will pardon me; and now, since Sir John Somerset is come hither, having left the 5000*l.* your Lordship sent at Newstead, my house, his Majesty hath commanded me to make use of it for the levying of five hundred horse, and withal, in his name, to return your Lordship all possible thanks for your seasonable assistance both now and heretofore, and that "he hopes he shall not die in your debt." These are his own words and desires to be excused for not writing himself, by reason of the little leisure he hath; for my own particular, I humbly beseech your Lordship to believe that, as there lives not anybody more deeply engaged for real and noble favours to your Lordship than myself, so no man can be more sensible of them, or more ready upon all occasions to express myself, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and faithful servant,

JOHN BYRON.

Leicester Abbey, this Sunday,
being the 24th of July, 1642.

And these sums, with as great privacy as may be keeping good correspondence with the Parliament and myself, present at London, to avoid suspicion, being then trusted by both King and Parliament .

For victualling the Tower of London, by his Majesty's command I sent to the then Lieutenant, Sir John Byron, in old plate, under pretence of coining it 2500

By a feigned pretence getting leave of the Parliament (the circumstance being too tedious to relate to your Lordships, but yet notable in itself), I went with their pass to York, and carried to his Majesty in ready money . . . 15,000

In bills and assurances . . . 80,500

For both which sums I had his Majesty's note, yet extant, for ninety-five thousand five hundred pounds. Which done in two days, and his Majesty's further commands received, I returned to the Parliament, with a plausible answer to a message sent from them by me, and I agreed with the Parliament to remove the magazine of powder and ammunition from Monmouth, which was a town of my own, to Carlyon, a town of the Earl of Pembroke, a professed adherent unto them, which they took kindly at my hands, though done by design by me, who could not have pretension to take it from the town of Monmouth had it been still there.

For the raising Sir John Byron's regiment of horse, being the first completed . . 5,000

Things being thus set in order between his

Majesty and me, I fairly took leave of the Parliament to go down to my father; where I no sooner arrived but there came directed unto me from his Majesty a Commission of Array; whereof I presently, by a servant of my own, sent word to the Parliament, with a letter to the House of Lords, which I directed to my Lord of Holland, and to the House of Commons, to Mr. Pym; in both of which I offered to intercede to his Majesty, and conceived I should prevail to suspend the Commission of Array, if they should make an act that their militia should not come into my country; but they, with civil compliments and thanks, replied, that his Majesty's was so illegal, and theirs for the good of the kingdom so just and necessary, that by no means would they waive the one for the other. At which I declared myself irritated to see that they durst tell me that anything commanded by my master was illegal, and professed I would obey his Majesty's commands, and let them send at their perils. So, immediately, and in eight days' time, I raised six regiments, fortified Monmouth, Chepstow, and Ragland; fetching away the magazine from the Earl of Pembroke's town, Carlyon, and placed it in Ragland Castle, leaving a garrison in lieu thereof. Garrisoned likewise Cardiff, Brecknock, Hereford, Goodrich Castle, and the Forest of Deane, after I had taken them from the enemy.

To the then Lord Marquis of Hereford, in Wales, as many forces as cost me the raising and arming . . . . .

Lent him to prosecute the expedition in

Raising of forces in Wales, first and last, to the number of 12,000 men, and

there, whilst the country was tottering,

them weekly for fifteen months,
Speaking and it shall be made good
Brought to Oxford and delivered
own hands
My journey to Ireland with levies
and incidental expenses
there as well at sea as at land.
The furnishing troops of six score
arms, and most of them with horses
some of them of an hundred pounds
price and many of 50*l.* for though
the gentlemen betwixt them made
above 60,000*l.* per annum, land of inheritance, yet being unexpectedly raised in eight days, and could not furnish themselves, which I did according to their quality, together with their servants to the number of two hundred, keeping a constant table for them the whole journey all along from Gloucester into the West; whereat they never wanted wine, that being carried along with us, but oftentimes beer; together with 6,000*l.* in ready money, paid my foot-soldiers at the raising of the siege of Gloucester: which, all modestly rated, come unto above . . £25,000

The keeping of the garrison of Ragland, towards which, till the very last cast, there was never a penny contribution raised or exacted, amounted to, at the least . . . 40,000

The Total, £318,000

Besides the garrison of Monmouth, both town and castle, Chepstow, Goodrich with Hinan, and the Forest of Deane, recovered from the enemy, all at my charge till Sir William Vavasour came, who hath had of me five hundred twenty shilling pieces at a time, to encourage him to go on at Gloucester; besides, likewise, the charge of reducing of Abergavenny, Carlyon, and Newport, to his Majesty's obedience.

Furthermore, for seven years, both in England and Ireland, I allowed twenty pounds each meal, to which all officers and gentlemen were welcome; and I believe the charges in these particulars not to be inserted or charged on this account amounts to one-half as much as the former sums. I never received a farthing towards it as General or . . . . . , nor a penny out of my estate in twenty years . . . these times came unto upwards of *omnibus viis et modis*, which alone amounted unto 600,000

These sums added together balance the accounts, and make good that I have spent, lent, . . . for my King and Country, *re vera*, . £918,000

My Lords, being conscious of this, and many things forgotten by me to set down, I was become proof against anything the King's enemies could do against me, since by their principles I knew I deserved it; but, since his Majesty's return and happy restoration it hath almost stupified me to have been so laid by as not to have had any promise made good to me, for which I had his Majesty's royal word, hand, or even the Great Seal of England. But, of the contrary, I humbly beseech your Lordships' leave to set down what, with all submission to his Majesty's will and pleasure, flesh and blood cannot but resent, yet so far only as shall stand with the duty of a loyal subject and the unquenchable zeal of my real heart towards my King and Country, and a most humble submission to your Lordships' better judgment, casting myself wholly at your disposal and favourable construction of what I shall set down, according to the old saying, that "losers may have leave to speak."

B.

Sir,

I did write to you by several conveyances since we came forth of the Straits; but, having no certainty that those might come safe to your hands, I have by this vessel, which is a Dutchman, freighted by his Highness, and in which Mr. Carteret is employed, adventured to give you a relation of all passages.

After we came forth of the Straits, and found that there were not ships in the Bay of Cales to make us a voyage, and that the Genoese and Spaniard which we had taken was not considerable to invite us to a port, his Highness resolved for the West Indies; and, because we were not well supplied with refreshing for such a voyage, he went, by advice, to the Madeira Island, which was not much out of his course, to supply those necessaries that were wanting, and to take the benefit of the time we were taking in of water there, to sell all or part of the rice and corn that was taken in the Genoese, being perishable commodities, especially the corn, and made the ship wholly unserviceable. But, the island, being poor, could not afford us merchants for all the corn, nor any of the other goods.

By the 1st of July, Old Style, we had got aboard all the refreshing that place could furnish, and his Highness stood on as he first intended, taking the Canary Islands in his way, to see if we could meet with any English ships, by which we might be strengthened for our voyage; but the time of the year was too early for that work; so, after we saw there was no good to be done, we passed those islands without making ourselves known.

But, notwithstanding that all things seemed with us to look prosperously, and that in all reason we were likely to have redeemed our losses in the Straits by a happy voyage, yet his Highness was prevented by a party that opposed going to the West Indies, merely because Captain Fearnes proposed it; and strengthened their party by alleging the leak (three days before we went from Madeira) in the Admiral, made the ship in too bad a condition to be carried so long a voyage. This passionate carriage disordered all; and put the master, Captain Fearnes, to such doubts as he would not undertake that the ship should make her voyage, neither undertake for this place we are now at, because he saw plainly that if any miscarriage should fall, he should have been lost, to satisfy private men's malice.

And which indeed was the reason that forced his Highness to call a Council of War, of Captains, Lieutenants, and Masters, the 7th July, to advise him to what place it would be most fit to go to take prizes, and to mend his ships.

In that Council the most part opposed Captain Fearnes' design to go to the West Indies, declaring that in that course no provisions were to be got, besides that, the Admiral would not be in a condition to go so far. And this was pressed with such violence, as without much difficulty their opinions could not have been altered; and on the other side Captain Fearnes, in general terms, told his Highness that dead and living goats might be had at the Isles of Cape de Verde, and cassado bread and flesh in the Indies; but all the rest, except Captain Fearnes and Captain Goulding, confidently affirmed that Cape de Verde could not supply us with flesh considerably, and that we must expect no other than starving in the West Indies, because, as they said, there was not any great quantity of cassado to be had, and our men could never be brought to feed on it, which I have seen the contrary of, by our men leaving good meat to eat it.

And to futify their other opinions, they urged very much the want of provisions in Capt. Craven's ship, who came into us at our leaving Toulon, and indeed that was by the greatness of the numbers of her men, which did somewhat deceive our expectations, but was easy to be supplied without any great prejudice to the voyage, either from our ships, or any place we should touch at. And to make their party more strong, underhand got Capt. Marshall and others, by merriment, to join with them too, but Capt. Craven was then sick, and did not meddle therein; nor was Capt. Marshall in their opinion since or before the Council.

So that in conclusion they carried it, and all except Fearnes and Goulding advised his Highness to the Western Islands as a sure place, where he might not only sell most part of his goods, but be supplied immediately with all manner of provisions forth of the King of Portugal's magazine at easy rates. And that those islands lay in the East India ships' road homeward, where we might in probability have the fortune to take one or more of them, which would make us a better voyage than to the West Indies. Besides some of them that pretended to know the place assured his Highness that he might mend his shipwreck there. The next day the Admiral made less water, and the winds being contrary for going as his Highness resolved, by the Council of War's advice, to the Western Islands, and the master then seeming to be confident of the ship's performance, his Highness began to have second thoughts for the Indies. But having lost Capt. Marshall's ship in the night, by his staying to set up a new top-mast, we were forced to beat it to the Islands to meet him. There we spent more time in procuring victuals than we should have done the other way to make their voyage, and could not get, with all our industry, in all the time we were thereabouts, being from the 25th of July to the 7th of December, so much victuals as we had aboard when the Council was called; and truly their design to catch East Indiamen there was very far from reason. I have seen punts from London since that year the East India fleet was arrived in the Thames, before we recoursed to the Western Islands. In the next place I am sure there was no place to amend our ship's leak in, for all those Islands' roads being very dangerous, as may appear by the loss of Capt. Craven's ship, of thirty-eight guns, and two Dutchmen; and of the loss of cattle and anchors of our other ships, which drove us into a most desperate condition, because in the least ill weather, which is often there, we were not able to come nigh the shore to take in provisions, neither could any boats come off to us, as all merchants that have used that trade can testify that sometimes it is three months before they can lade a ship, and if once beaten from the shore, it will be many days before they can recover it again, as our ships, when the Admiral was lost, were six weeks before they could get back to the Terceira Island. By this relation you may perceive how miserably we have been misguided and ruined, more by these Islands than possibly we could have been by any strength that ever the Rebels could have sent against us. For we lost there Capt. Goulding, who was carried away by his men, as is supposed, or run away with his ship; Capt. Craven's ship driven from her anchors, and cast away in one of their best roads, and the Admiral foundered in a storm; in which ship his Highness had perished, if God Almighty had not miraculously preserved his person, as you may perceive by the Master's relation, which I send you here enclosed, in which he is plain; and by it you may perceive the whole carnage, especially of the Vice-Admiral's officers, who would not hoist out their boat that was better able to live in the sea than the Admiral's, and for which Capt. Chester, who was then Capt. of Vice-Admiral, cannot be excused; for when he saw the ship perishing he made no action at all for their boat to help to save the men, but walked upon the deck, and said, "Gentlemen, it is a great mischance; who can help it!" And the Master never brought the ship near the perishing ship, notwithstanding Prince Maurice's command for it, and earnestness to have it done, and the signs he made for help.

We likewise lost thereabouts near four hundred of our best men, besides treasure and rich goods, and are now further from making our voyage than when the Council was called. But the fault of this miscarriage I conceive cannot be so justly laid on all those that were for the Islands and knew them not, as upon those who were seamen, and knew the place. But this design to the Western Islands has a long time been drawing on by some private persons, and a very good design prevented, which I dare not mention, because by the loss of the Admiral I am left destitute of all ciphers and other papers which I had collected. I had almost omitted to tell you his Highness, before the Admiral was lost, perceiving himself to be in a very bad condition at these islands, and no hopes to get as much provisions as he brought thither, sent me privately with his warrant aboard all the ships on the 13th day of September, to command all the captains and masters to give their opinions singly in writing, to what place it was fit for the fleet to make a voyage, by which his Highness did further see how the former business was carried; and that then Capt. Chester, of the Swallow, and his master, who drove us on going to the Western Islands, were for going to the mouth of the Channel, to take prizes, and none others of their opinion, which was a most unreasonable advice, considering the Admiral's condition, which they well knew could not possibly endure such seas as they must have met with there. The rest, though differing in particulars, yet in general agreed that it would be best for us to go to the southward, and so to the West Indies, both to take prizes, and to mend the ships that could not endure the Northern seas, where none of them could have lived.

The want of provisions at last was that which most afflicted his Highness, and put him to many thoughts, and that which would have enforced us to some harbour if it had pleased God that we had kept up our number of men and our ships, where we must not have expected to have gone out again, unless we had carried in great purchase; and to Portugal his Highness was resolved not to go, because he had good assurance of their treaty with the Rebel; and to have gone to France you may judge what our condition would have been, to bring strange mariners into their own country, without the means to reward them. Besides the danger it had been to carry such ships in such Northern seas.

Those people that were the cause of carrying us to the Islands, now excuse themselves by saying that if his Highness had then gone to the West Indies, he would have been met with at Barbadoes by the Rebels' fleet, under . . . . . . who would have been too strong for us, and have ruined us more than the Islands did; but that carries no manner of reason with it, because on the contrary, it is most probable that we had, before our arrival, made ourselves stronger in ships than they, and with such men as at Barbadoes, as we might certainly have got long before they could have arrived there, have beaten their fleet from there, and done his Majesty most eminent service by securing those parts. Therefore, if these Islands should be lost, which, God forbid, those men who kept us from going thither must be in fault.

These misfortunes have again brought us to three ships, indifferently well provided with provisions, but to repair and fit them we are forced to this place, a harbour near Cape Blanc, in the kingdom of Argen, in the Barbary Coast, towards Guinea, where are none inhabitants except some few Moors that come down and trade with the

Flushingers that sometimes fish here, being the place affords great store of fish; especially mullet. The Dutch have a castle, sixteen leagues off which they took from the Portuguese, called by the name of Arquen in a small island, where they kept a small trade with the Moors for bastard Besar stone, and a coarse sort of amber and ambergris. The governor of that castle has been very civil to us, and sent us as much fresh water as he could spare. The other particulars of this place I leave to Mr. Carteret's relation, who is able to give you an account thereof, and to inform you how we lost by the Moors' treachery, three men that did not keep in our quarters as his Highness commanded.

Now, having cleansed, fitted, and new-rigged our three ships, viz., the Swallow, of forty-two guns; the Revenge, of forty guns; and the Honest Seamen, of forty guns; we are this instant setting sail from hence. In this intended voyage God Almighty guide us for the best, and send us better fortune than we had for the last, to his Highness's content, he being resolved not to make any part until he shall get somewhat considerable to bring with him to serve his Majesty, and to make his fleet subsist. Much more I could have added, concerning several persons that have all along hindered all advantageous designs, but his Highness commands to leave that occasion until another . . . . because of the danger this is to run before it come to your hands, but at meeting, or so soon as his Highness can with safety send, he will give you full satisfaction in all particulars.

I believe, before this comes to your hands, Captain Chester will be come into France. He parted from us very suddenly at St. Michael's, pretending the cause to be a quarrel that he had with Captain Fearnes, whom he could not endure to be . . . . .

I believe you may hear of some misinformation of a business that happened at Fayal Island, in which his Highness was very much injured by the Governor and the Captain of the Castle thereof, as Mr. Carteret, who was present there, can relate, that his Highness hath sufficient . . . . . to their villany, and to manifest the great abuses they did his Highness and his people. So, likewise, did his Highness receive very bad usage at the Terceira Island, but St. Michael's and the Madeira Islands had very civil entertainment.

His Highness is pleased to command me to acquaint you with Dr. Hart's being lost in the Admiral, and that his Highness desires you to get some able and honest man in his stead, as to be ready so soon as we shall arrive in any convenient part.

I beseech you excuse the faults my haste hath caused me to commit.

I remain your most humble servant,

PITTS.

C.

A COPY OF A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE VOYAGE UNTO GAMBIA, FROM JANUARY THE 27TH UNTIL MARCH 21ST, 1660. BY COLONEL VERMUYDEN.

[Chief Engineer to Prince Rupert.]

January the 27th, set sail in the Amity, Forth of the Downs; met with the fleet, under conduct of Major Holmes, on the 6th of February, and were in the latitude of 40 degrees; on the 11th, anchored before Funchal, in the Island of Madeira. Having taken in our wines, set sail from thence the 13th, and on the 19th came before Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe; here we took other wines in, and departed hence the 22nd, and passed by the Cape de Verde on the 1st of March, and the 2nd anchored before Trefisco, and there did give notice unto the Dutch commander, to desist trading within the limits granted by his Majesty of England unto the royal company, &c. The West India Company hath an island three leagues westward hence, where they keep a factory, and have a great trade: the island is small, and reasonable grounds, strengthened by two fortifications; the French have only a factory on the main, at Trefisco, who also hath warning not to trade; the same day we departed hence, and arrived in the river of Gambia on the 4th. This river is in breadth above three leagues, the tides strong; we sailed as high as Charles Island, four leagues from the mouth of the river, where we anchored in nine fathoms of water. Upon the south point at the entrance in of the river, the Duke of Courland hath a fort, but now the ruin is scarcely visible. This day, in general council upon debate, resolved to land, and secure our men on the same island, called Charles, until view were made of Elephant Island, with other the situations in the river; did view Charles Island, and found it to be in compass about three acres, and when the water highest, the earth surmounteth two fathoms, the bases whereof is wholly a rock of bastard iron stone, seated on the north of the river, above an arrow flight from the main, fordable when low water, but then the passage craggy; the island affordeth lime and stone sufficient for a royal fort, but cannot command the channel. With what speed and industry might be, got ready to go up the river, and on the 19th we went up, having fitted three barges and one wherry, the only remainder of the four; we are in all that go up thirty-six-persons: but do suspect that our progress will be but small as to discovery this year, the rains being so near, however shall use all possible endeavour: on the 21st, we viewed Elephant Island, the which is seated commodiously as to the command of the river, being from the mouth thereof forty-five leagues; however, it is not habitable, for that it flows every tide a foot above the island, it being wholly a wood of mangroves, so thick that it is not passable without much difficulty. According to my opinion, the only seat in this river is Charles Island, being a healthy air, and on the main, commodious ground for plantation, where, doubtless, may be had sugar, tobacco, wines, indigo, oranges, lemons, and variety of fruits, cotton wool, pepper, &c.; and also to have James Island better fortified, settling there a factory. This island was called heretofore St. Andrew, and in the possession of the Courlander, who, upon demand, hath delivered it up unto Captain Holmes; the reason of which demand is under our hands. I do conceive that it was good to send all petty fellows and the like to plant here, for this country once being planted will turn to great account, and, doubtless, the trade of this river and the coast, granted by the patent, will employ above thirty good ships.

I do not doubt,—God granting me life,—at my return down the river, but to be able to give you a more perfect account, the which shall not be neglected in the least, by

Your most humble servant,
Jo. Vermuyden.

Elephant Island, in the river of Gambia,
22nd March, 1660.

D.

EXTRACTED OUT OF A JOURNAL KEPT OF THE PRINCE'S OWN SHIP.

September 30th, 1651.—The Constant Reformation wherein was his Highness Prince Rupert, having been lately at the Western Islands, now at sea, in a storm sprung a leak, and after all endeavours had proved fruitless to stop it, foundered, to the loss of near 340 men; his Highness would certainly have perished with them, if some of his officers, more careful of his preservation, had not forced him into a small boat, and carried him on board the Honest Seaman (a ship of his Highness's fleet); the Isle Terceira then bore N. N. E. about seventy leagues distant.

October 19th.—His Highness with the Swallow, which had been Vice-Admiral, the Revenge, and the Honest Seaman, arrived at Falay, where the Loyal Subject, another ship of his fleet, was cast away through negligence.

27th.—Set sail for Terceira, and anchored there.

November 8th.—Sailed for Falay again, and in a storm were like to perish on the south part of St. George's Island.

9th.—Anchored in Falay, and surprised a vessel come from New England.

21st.—Set sail, and plied between St. George's and Pico.

25th.—Anchored at St. Michael's.

December 17th.—Sailed by the westward of the Canary Islands.

26th.—Anchored near Cape Blanco, and four days after went into the harbour, where they continued cleaning, tallowing, and refitting until the 25th of January.

January 26th.—They had sailed by nine at night from Cape Blanco W. S. W., 35 leagues, latitude 19°. 55′.

30th.—Anchored in the north-eastward of the Island of Sale.

31st.—Sailed from thence, and

February 1st, 1651-2.—Anchored at Bonavista, where they took in fresh water, and bought near one thousand dried goats.

14th.—Sailed for the Isle of May, and the 18th anchored before St. Jago.

21st.—His Highness with his fleet set sail from St. Jago intending for Gambo.

27th.—Anchored before that river, where both the Admiral and Vice-Admiral run aground, but got off without much damage.

29th.—They surprised a small English vessel which attended on a greater; Mr. Holmes was sent aboard commander.

30th.—They took a Spanish vessel, whereof Captain Craven was sent commander.

March 2nd.—They took a good English ship called the Friendship, whereof Blake was master.

13th.—She was named the Defiance, and made Vice-Admiral.

18th.—They departed from thence, sailing all along Cape Mastre, and anchored before a town called Reback; some of Prince Maurice's men having seized in a canoe two negroes. The natives detained Mr. Holmes and Mr. Hell (then ashore) until the others were released.

29th.—Sailed from thence by Cape de Verd and Bonavista, towards the Isle of May, and out of that [April 5] road chased an English Plymouth ship of 250 tons, and 18 guns, and took her.

April 5th and 7th.—Came with her to an anchor, and took in fresh water and provisions.

14th.—Two vessels of 250 tons each, newly come from Plymouth, put into the place where the Prince's fleet was and so were both surprised and seized.

16th.—The Admiral and one other set sail for the Isle of Salle to take an English ship which rode there, but she proving too nimble, they returned back to Jago.

May 9th.—Set sail with all his fleet from thence for Barbadoes.

29th.—Passed by the Isle of St. Vincent, eight leagues distant; then plied for the Island of Santa Lusia, and anchored there within two days.

June 2nd.—Set sail for Martinico, and anchored there next day.

4th.—From thence to Guadaloupe.

June 5, 1652.—His Highness sailed from Guadaloupe to Montserrat, and took two English prizes, one whereof, belonging to an inhabitant of the island, he restored.

7th.—His Highness sent a letter to the governor, and, as soon as he had answered it, set sail for Nevis, and there with his own ship took two prizes near the fort by shot, from whence his Highness's secretary was slain while his Highness was fast aboard one of the ships, which he took, of 200 tons, two guns laden with sugar, four or five others made their escape. From thence his Highness sailed to St. Christopher's.

June 8th.—His Highness luffed into Digby's Bay, and there fought with two forts and several ships, which his Highness could not come at.

Anchored in Sand Point Road, belonging to the French, and after in Bastar Road not far from thence, where was riding twenty-four French and Dutch vessels, and there continued twelve days.

The English rebels of that island made proclamation, threatening the Dutch with confiscation of their goods if they should assist their Highnesses's fleet with any provisions; and they accused one —— Dangerfield that he had been with the Prince, and entered himself in the King's service, and caused him to be hanged.

June 20th.—His Highness sailed from St. Christopher's.

24th.—Put into a creek in an island called the Leeward Virgin, to stop a leak in his own ship, and to careen and clean the rest.

There they went ashore, and set up tents, and made cannon baskets for defence, and mounted eight guns ashore, and

July 2nd.—Afterwards took all the guns and luggage out of the Prince's own ship, and sheathed her, and continued there seven or eight weeks, fitting of her and the rest of the ships. They set fire to two prizes, having first taken away such materials as could be useful for the rest.

August 29th.—His Highness set sail from the Leeward Virgin, with four ships, and steered N.N.E.

September 1st.—Were got five leagues from the said place, in latitude 21° 40′.

2nd and 3rd.—Plied to and again with variable winds.

4th.—The Leeward Virgin bore seven leagues distant, latitude 22° 25′.

5th and 6th.—Sailed divers courses, with fair weather, but a great northern sea.

13th.—His Highness, with his four ships, was in latitude 19° 43′, when the storm began, which continued four days; on the second whereof Prince Maurice, with three of the four ships, were missing, and Prince Rupert, in his own ship, with a great deal of danger, got to an anchor at St. Ann's Island, at the Windward Virgin, a place then uninhabited.

18th.—Provisions being scarce, each man's daily allowance of bread was but three ounces.

25th.—His Highness having taken in good store of freshwater, and caused the damage sustained by the storm to be repaired [October 5]; sailed thence, and arrived at Montserrat, where he took a prize of ten guns, continued sailing to and again about those islands until the 10th, when he anchored at Guadaloupe, and there was informed that war was proclaimed between the States of Holland and the rebels of England.

October 22nd.—His Highness set sail from thence upon the appearance of eight or ten ships, suspected to be of the enemy's men of war.

26th.—Came there again to anchor.

27th.—Set sail at midnight, and

30th,—Entered a harbour in Antigua called Five Island Harbour, where were riding three English merchant ships. Mr. Holmes was set ashore, with fifty men, to take a great gun planted at certain cannon baskets, wherewith they somewhat annoyed the ship; so, while he took that gun his Highness took the ships without resistance. One of them being a fly-boat of three hundred and fifty ton, had in her eighteen guns. His Highness continued there three days; in which time the rebels ashore endeavoured to raise a breastwork against the ships; but, upon firing two guns, were frighted from it. Several parties of horse and foot appeared, but attempted nothing.

November 2nd.—His Highness sailed from thence with four ships.

7th.—Anchored in a bay in the north-west part of Guadaloupe.

November 11th.—Set sail again, and took a prize of London, 200 tons, bound for Barbadoes, laden chiefly upon provisions.

15th.—With that prize and the rest, came to the road of Guadaloupe.

16th.—News was brought the Prince by a French vessel, that his brother was safe at the island Tartogue.

20th.—His Highness set sail for Dominico.

22nd.—Anchored in the N. W. bay of that island.

26th.—Set sail from thence.

29th.—Touched at Nevis.

30th.—Anchored at Stalhowe, a French plantation.

December 4th.—Sailed from thence and steered for the Virgins, and next day anchored in the same harbour and place, which not long before had proved so convenient for fitting his Highness's ships.

8th.—A great comet was discovered in the south-east, 30 degrees above the horizon the first night, the same for four nights, elevated about 8 degrees higher each night. It disappeared not till Christmas-Day.

12th.—Set sail from the Leeward Virgin, having taken in fresh water and fitted.

January 16th.—His Highness arrived safe at Fayal and there came to an anchor, in expectation of friendly entertainment, but the Governor fired at him, and would not let him continue there; so he sailed from thence to St. Michael's, another of the Western islands, belonging to the King of Portugal; the Governor whereof entertained the Prince with bullets for salutation, as he at Fayal had done before. So he set sail from thence for France, after he had some days been plying among the islands. His Highness had not been very well since he came from the islands of the West Indies, and now fresh provisions being a rarity, a present of two hens and a few eggs were very acceptable, which the master of one of the prizes brought him.

March 3rd.—After many storms and tempests, his Highness, with his little fleet of five ships, arrived in sight of Belleisle, and next day came to an anchor at St. Nasarous, near the Castle, from which, as also from a fleet of Dutch ships, his Highness received and returned salutes.

29th.—His Highness departed from aboard the ship, and took his journey for Paris.

This Journal was delivered to Mr. Holmes,
and by him sent to Paris to the Prince.

E.

List of Prince Rupert's Mezzotinto Engravings and Etchings now in being.

Rupert, Prince Palatine, born 1619.

1. The Executioner of St. John, with the decollated head in his right hand, and a drawn sword in his left, on which are the letters R. P., surmounted by a crown, date 1658. At the back of the figure the cross and scroll. (Height 25¼ inches, width 17½.)

*** All other impressions known have the following inscription on an entablature at the foot of the picture :—

"*Sp.*=*In.* RVP. P. FECIT. FRANCOFVRTI. AN'O. 1658.
M. =. A. P. R."

excepting one impression, which is in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, having only *Sp.* = *In.* (Spagnoletti invenit) on the entablature, and R. p. *Sf* 1658 on the sword-blade.

2. Portrait of a Magdalen, with clasped hands, looking upwards, long dark hair, inscribed :

"Rupertus D. G. C. P. D. B. Princeps Imperii
Animi gratiâ lusit."

In the corner, "M. Merian pinxit." Height 8⅞ inches, width 6½.

3. Portrait, supposed to be the Prince, leaning on the left arm ; the head resting on the right hand. Cap and feathers. Height 8 inches, width 6⅜.

*** There are copies of this print. I have one by W. Vaillant done in the lifetime of Rupert, and inscribed : "Prins Robbert, vinder van de Swart Prent Konst," shewing the Prince claimed the invention as soon as he came over into England a second time, as Vaillant was an artist he brought with him.

4. A three-quarters length portrait, generally called "The Standard Bearer," in a slashed cap and feathers; the right hand grasping a standard ; the left resting on a shield, on the edge of which is inscribed : "[1]658. Rup^{t}. P: Fec." Height 11 inches, width 8½.

5. The same portrait to the shoulders, but somewhat larger, and looking more to the left. Height 7½ inches, width 6½.

6. The bust of an old man with bald head and flowing beard. "R. P." in the left-hand top corner. 5 inches square.

7. The head of the Executioner of St. John (as No. 1), in the right-hand top corner, Rpf. Height 5¼ inches, width 6½.

*** This is the head done for Mr. Evelyn's Sculptura, 8vo. 1662; in which Evelyn gives a chapter, "Of the new way of engraving, or Mezzotinto, *invented* and communicated by his Highness Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, &c."—This head has been copied.

8. The same head looking to the *right* (*dubious*).

9. A portrait of Oliver Cromwell, an oval, at the corners, "O. C. P. R. fc."

10. Another portrait of Oliver Cromwell, 8vo., appears unfinished; a portrait turned to the right. *** Bought at Sir Mark Sykes's sale, with No. 9, by Mrs. Sutherland. Now in the Bodleian Library.

11. A Monk in his Cell, with table and book, under a window admitting the light; it is behind the monk. On the right of him is a chair, inscribed at the top "RVP. Pr. fec." Length 5⅛ inches, width 4¼. *** In the collection of the Archduke Charles.

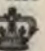
12. A Woman's Head, looking down, in an oval. Walpole's History of Engravers, p. 75.

ETCHINGS BY PRINCE RUPERT.

Though not precisely connected with the subject of Mezzotinto engraving, yet, as the Etchings of Prince Rupert are excessively rare, and have been seen but by few persons, I have subjoined the following list, making, I believe, a complete catalogue of his works. Strutt, in his Biographical Dictionary of Engravers, vol. ii. p. 284, observes, "Florent le Comte," speaking of Prince Rupert, "says he etched two small landscapes." These I know nothing of; it might be a mistake of Le Comte's. The prints from which the following description is taken were in my possession, with the Mezzotinto prints, but are now in the British Museum.

1. An old Mendicant Friar, whole-length; his arms are folded in front, a rosary hangs down, and a staff may be perceived at the bottom of his long dress; his feet are very imperfectly defined. On the right are five soldiers, seated, with two figures standing near them. In the distance a city is seen, with a river in front of it; on the left are other figures, which are imperfect, owing to the failure of the aquafortis; beneath them the letters R.P., and in a portion of architecture, near the margin, also on the left, Rup. Pr. F. 1637. This was etched by the Prince in his seventeenth year, and is in the manner of Callot. Height 8⅜, width 5⅛.

2. A Beggar, a whole-length figure singing, turned towards the left; his dress is much patched, and he has no shoes; in the back-ground, on the right, is a long boat, which has an awning at the end, and on the rocky shore behind are buildings with an open archway. Three figures are at the door of an inn on the left, and in the distance is a bridge of four arches. Etched also in the style of Callot, and has no mark. Height 10⅛, width 6⅛.

3. A Landscape, with a man driving a loaded waggon, in which he is seated; it is drawn towards the back-ground by two horses; on the left is a large tree, some buildings, and a bower, are seen in the distance on the right. On which side, at the bottom, is the mark  Rp and the date 1657. Height 3¾, width 4¾.[1]

F.

The following letter was written after Prince Rupert's death; but it is so interesting in its relation to the politics of James II., that the historical reader will feel indebted to the source from whence it came:—

---

[1] This list was made out by Mr. H.W. Diamond for the Antiquarian Society.

FROM JAMES II, TO THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

I forgot when you went out of town to give you directions to speak with such Parliament men as you shall see in the country, about what I intend to endeavour to have done when they shall meet next; which is, to have the two Tests and Penal Laws repealed, that my Catholic subjects may be in the same condition the rest of my subjects are. Therefore pray take pains with such as make difficulty to promise to comply with my so reasonable terms, and get as many of them as you can to promise you positively that they will do it, so that against you come back hither you may be able to give me a true account; and send to such as are anything near you to come to you, that you may speak with them about it. As for the Herefordshire men that are here in town, I have spoken with all of them, and they have fully satisfied me. I hear Sir John Morgan is in the country. Be sure to send for him, and speak with him; for, if he will not comply, of which I do not doubt, he shall be no longer in my pay. Speak also to as many as you can of the Welsh Members, and take great care to get none but such as you can be sure of to be chosen in the vacancies which are where you have to do. I have a very good prospect of being able to carry it in both Houses; but no pains must be spared to gain people, which is all I have now to say.

J. R.[1]

Whitehall, February 12, 168$\frac{6}{7}$.

For his Majesty's service.
For his Grace the Duke of Beaufort,
at Badminton in Gloucestershire.

---

[1] From his Grace the Duke of Beaufort's MSS.

G.

When Cromwell landed in Ireland, "nine parts in ten of that island held for the King," as Ludlow, Cromwell's enemy and the King's, admits. Since the days of Strafford's stern but impartial rule, Ireland had made a vast stride in prosperity, notwithstanding the rebellion of 1641. That great and able statesman had done for that country what the early Plantagenets did for England, by sweeping away all tyranny except his own, he had given room to the people to grow up and acquire strength. The King's compelled consideration towards the Irish, and Ormond's wise, gentle, and conciliatory government, had elevated their national character, and inspired a sense of importance unknown to them till then. They at least appeared to have profited by the King's adversity; but, like the Scots, their first rebellion and too late royalty, only purchased a temporary and deceitful triumph. Cromwell's murderous hand soon smote them to the earth. He slaughtered with a ruthlessness, only to be paralleled by his prototypes, the chiefs of Israel, and with much the same object and intention;[1] but he made Ireland pay a still more bitter penalty for opposition to his rule; he flung her back a century in civilization, and perhaps for ever, in that hopeful spirit so essential to the prosperity of a nation. Even Lady Fanshaw marked the change with horror; "We left that brave kingdom," she says, "in 1651, fallen in six or eight months into a most miserable sad condition, as it hath been many times in most king's reigns; God knows why! for I presume not to say; but the natives seem to me a very loving people to each other, and constantly false to all strangers, the Spaniards only excepted.[1] The career of Cromwell from the storming of Drogheda,[2] was one continuous stride of victory.

---

[1] "Ireland was the great capital out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed;" says Clarendon, speaking of the Parliamentary conquest of that unhappy country. Harris gravely endeavours to confute the assertion that Ireland was to be unceremoniously appropriated, and her people extirpated, by quoting from the preamble to the "Act for *settling* Ireland," these words: "that the people of Ireland may know it is not the intention of the Parliament to extirpate *that whole nation*:" even this liberal declaration, however, was only pronounced by the majority of a single vote. Cromwell's alternative to the rebels of death or banishment to the western wilds was pithily expressed by "Hell or Connaught," the only terms offered to the vanquished.

H.

[The following letter has been omitted by some accident from the text.]

Dear Sir John,

I am very much beholding to you for the care you have taken to send the letter to his Majesty, and settling an intelligence to France. I will not fail to send a frigate to you as soon as the weather removes our friends from this coast. Though the blow my Lord-lieutenant has received is considerable, yet Cromwell's landing at Dublin with part of his army, which is certainly reported, does not frighten us, neither do I think it should hinder any sign his Majesty had before for this place, though I dare not counsel him to continue the same, the event being hazardous to his own person; yet I could wish he would rather hazard himself this way than by looking on; our army will in a few days consist of ten thousand effective foot, and four thousand horse; O'Neil, I doubt not, would come in; our fleet is ready and in order; I need not give you more reasons, I hope the best. As for your own business, I have put Antony Browne upon it, who assured me that within . . . . . he will send a vessel to you with clothes and such necessaries as you want. I have undertaken that if you are not in a condition to pay for it, that out of the next prizes we take he shall be paid; but take you no notice to him or to any other, that you know this, but order your business as you shall see occasion. You may assure yourself that I shall omit nothing which shall tend to your service there or elsewhere, as far as the power extends of your most loving friend,

---

[1] "The country exceeds," her ladyship continues, "in timber and seaports, and great plenty of fish, flesh, and fowl."

[2] At Drogheda, or Tredagh, as it was then called, our old correspondent Sir Arthur Aston was put to the sword amongst others.

RUPERT.[1]

27 Aug. 1649.

I.

[The following fragmentary correspondence is too curious to be omitted, though it does not relate to the subject of these memoirs. It was found among Prince Rupert's papers.]

Dublin, Feb. 22, 1672.

SIR,

The first proposal was grounded upon men's having more acres than their respective grants did mention, the Down Survey being Judge.

What you now propound must depend upon what Protestants, Church, and Innocents have as their right in anno 1641, which really was not so. For this you think fit to offer 12,000*l.* per annum. To which I answer, it shall be done when the same is possessed, as in the other case; only it must be considered how the lawsuits shall be managed, by whom judged, for — &c.

But this difficulty is no more than would have pestered the effects of your inspection; for whatever you had reported must have passed all the quillets of the law, juries, sheriffs, demurrers, writs of error, &c.

---

[1] From Lord John Fitzroy's MSS.

So as to undertake more by Michaelmas day than what depends upon admeasurement, will but argue an ignorance and temerity. Ergo. But in brief, whatever others can offer, I think we shall perform more than they, and that 's enough.

Dublin, Feb. 7, 1672.

Let a draught be made on your side of the agreement, and send it me over when it hath been perused by the other party. You must remember that. Ten potent men threaten fire and sword against it, and Antichrist reigns furiously in that pit and cage of unclean birds, wherefore, Dr. Aken, the author of the State of Ireland says, the English lost about 600,000*l.*, which, had it been truly computed, was five hundred times as much. That five hundred should have been but five, for five times 600,000*l.* is three millions, which is as much as the personal estate of all Ireland is now worth. Smaller matters, "quæ faciunt pro nobis," may be winked at. I am really yours.

Dublin, Feb. 7, 1672.

The clause concerning former miscarriages in Connaught, is in page 28 of the Act of Settlement.

That of Sir William Petty's Admeasurement in page 73 of the Explanatory.

By Cromwell were reserved, undisposed to soldiers or adventurers, towards bearing the charge of their government, the counties of Dublin, Carlow, Kildare, and Cork, wherein was the Barony of Muskerry, one hundred and fifty thousand acres. And in the county of Kerry it was death for an Irishman to be taken.

In the Lords Commissioners' Report to his Majesty, dated 13th June, 1671, in the 4th page, the Surveyor-General alleges that about three millions of English acres would suffice soldiers, adventurers, creditors for arms,

&c., and five millions might have remained at his Majesty's disposal.

In the 2nd page his certificate computes the forfeited lands there to be eight millions of English acres; whereas all dispositions of lands there were by Irish acres, plantation-measure, whereof five are about eight English.

Only the quit-rents are set according to English measure.

The soldiers and adventurers have about two millions Irish measure; and near three millions more of the same measure have been disposed to Innocents and others by the settlement.

Upon his Majesty's restoration, it was the more easy to be their own carvers in these reserved counties; they, as having been public, were the less looked after. Some out of Connaught got the then state-tenants to attorn to them, on good terms, for more land than they ever claimed before the late wars, and yet held what they were transplanted to in Connaught.

K.

THE PROCEEDING TO THE FUNERAL OF HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE RUPERT, THE 6TH OF DECEMBER, 1684, FROM THE PAINTED CHAMBER TO THE SOUTH DOOR OF THE ABBEY OF WESTMINSTER.[1]

First, two companies of foot, to make a guard leading from the stairs to the Abbey.

Marshal's Men.

Servants to Gentlemen, Esquires, bare-headed.

The Prince's Watermen, two and two.

---

[1] MS. Harl. 6815, fol. 208.

Footmen, two and two. Grooms, and other ordinary servants, two and two, and grooms of his chamber.

Gentlemen servants to Knights and others of the Privy Council.

Gentlemen servants of the Nobility.

Gentlemen servants to the Duke and Duchess of York.

Gentlemen servants to the Queen.

Gentlemen servants to the King, in their order.

Pages to the Prince.

The Prince's Gentlemen.

Gentleman of the Horse.

Chaplains to the Prince.

Secretaries to the Prince.

Officers of Arms, and three so far bareheaded.

Baron's younger sons.

Viscounts' younger sons.

Privy Councillors.

Barons' eldest sons.

Earls' younger sons.

Viscounts' eldest sons.

Irish, Scotch, and English Barons.

Bishops.

Marquises' younger sons.

Earls' eldest sons.

Irish, Scotch, and English Viscounts.

Dukes' younger sons.

Marquises' eldest sons.

Earls, Irish, Scotch, and English.

Earls that are great Officers.

Dukes' eldest sons.

Marquises.

Dukes, Irish, Scotch, and English.

Dukes that have great Offices.

Two Officers of Arms.

The four great Officers.

Here, the Dean of the Chapel, Prebends, and Choir.

Two Officers: one on each side.	The Coronet and Cushion, carried by Mr. Norroy.	Mr. Colt.
Supporters, two.	The Body.	Supporters, two.[1]

A canopy carried by eight of the Prince's Gentlemen.

The Guard to carry the Body.

Gentleman Usher.	Garter.	Gentleman Usher.
Supported D. Grafton, in cloak, no train.	The Chief Mourner. Earl of Craven in cloak, his train borne by	Supported. E. Feversham, in cloak, no train.

Assistants to Chief Mourner.

Earl Denbigh.	Earl Westmoreland.
Viscount Mordant.	Viscount Newport.
Lord North.	Lord Cornwallis.

The Yeomen of the Guard to close the proceeding.

Mr. Colt, Gentleman of the Horse.

Mr. Gadford, Chaplain.

Gents.

Mr. Dewcet.	Mr. Simon.
Mr. Cowth.	Mr. Kirk.
Mr. Pike.	Mr. Hawley.

Mr. Hughes.

Pages.

Mr. Jean. Mr. Rayney.

Grooms of the Chamber.

Mr. Martin. Mr. Berry,

Mr. Tayler, Huntsman.
Mr. Cornelius, Butler.
Mr. Goyer, Tennis Player.
Johannes the Turner.

---

[1] Sir Francis Lawley, Sir William Walter, Sir Thomas Ogle, Sir William Tirringham, ordered so by his Majesty, for want of Earls' younger sons and Barons' eldest sons.

Ermindinger, Gunsmith.
Michael, the Saddle Knight.
Boller, the Coachman.

Grooms.

Pearce.
John.
Franck.
John de Main.

Postillions.

John.
Robin.

Helpers.

Richard.
Thomas.

Footmen.

Johannes.
Herbert Coel.
William Ford.
Richard Davis.
Thomas Head.
Robert Silvester.

Thirteen Watermen.

L.

Extracts from a MS. in the possession of the Earl of Craven, at Combe Abbey. It is endorsed "A book of Accounts of what is received and paid by the Right Honourable the Earl of Craven, as executor of his Highness Prince Rupert, deceased." This curious paper is beautifully written and admirable arranged. At the end of the account is a release to Lord Craven, signed by Mrs. Hughes and Ruperta, the Prince's daughter, and her mother.

Received, Dec. 7th, 1682.

Found in the Prince's iron chest, 1694 guineas.

	£.	s.	d.
Found there also in silver .	1000	0	0
For plate sold . . .	2070	0	0
Of Mr. Wills for a pack of Hounds .	120	0	0
Of Mr. Colt for four coach mares .	26	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Mr. Chase the Apothecary's bill . .	2	5	0
Thomas Bennet, the secretary, in full of all demands	800	0	0
Mr. Beavour, the jeweller, for commission for selling the great necklace and setting some of the stones for sale . .	60	0	0
Spent in dinner upon the jury which tried the cause with Captain Charles Lloyd, they being most Justices of the Peace, and persons of quality	12	0	0

There are sundry payments on account to Mrs. Hughes and Ruperta, on the whole amounting to about 6000*l.* each. The payments to members of the Prince's household include those to a turner, tennis-player, barber, milliner, and gunsmith.

History of Prince Rupert	London,	1683.
Hollings's History of Leicester	Leicester,	1840.
Howell's Familiar Letters	London,	1754.
Hume's History of England	London,	1810.
Hutchinson's Memoirs	London,	1846.
Icon Basilicon	London,	1649.
Kennet's History	London,	1719.
Lilly's Life and Times		1822.
Lloyd's State Worthies	London,	1764.
Ludlow's Memoirs	Switzerland,	1698.
Macaulay's England	London,	1849.
——— Essays	London,	1843.
Mackintosh's England	London,	1830.
——— Vindiciæ Gallicæ	London,	1815.
Maseres' Tracts		
Maston's Naseby	Leicester,	1792.
May's History of the Parliament	London,	1647.
Milton's Prose Works	London,	1806.
Munroe's Discipline of the Suede	London,	1642.
Napier's Montrose	London,	1840.
Newcastle, Life of Marquis of	London,	1702.
Nichols's History of Leicestershire		
Orrery's Art of War	London,	1677.
Pamphlets, King's	British Museum.	
Pennant's London	London,	1790.
Queen of Bohemia, Life of	London,	1825.
Rushworth's Historical Collection	London,	1703.
Russell, Lord John, on English Government	London,	1823.
——— French Revolution	London,	1832.
Saunderson's Life of Charles I.	London,	1658.
Secret Memoirs of Charles II.	London,	1792.
Shawe's History of Staffordshire	(Brit. Mus. copy.)	
Shropshire History, Owen and Blakeway	Do.	
Somers's Tracts	London,	1811.
Strickland's, Miss, Queens of England		
Thurloe's State Papers	British Museum.	
Vicars's Jehovah Jireh	Do.	
Walpole's Noble Authors	London,	1759.
——— Anecdotes of Painting	London,	1786.
Warburton's (Bishop) Works	London,	1788.
Ward, Life and Diary of	London,	1827.
Warwick's Memoirs	London,	1702.

Army, Parliamentary, *continued.* ii. 420–1; defeated at Lathom House, ii. 429; retire to Bolton, ii. 430; battle of Bolton, ii. 431; condition of at Hessam Moor, ii. 441; battle of Marston Moor, ii. 447; plan of battle, ii. 455; resumed siege of York, ii. 469; distribution of, ii. 469; position of, after Charles quits Oxford for Exeter, iii. 6; position of Essex at Foy, iii. 11; escape of Balfour's horse, iii. 18; Lord Byron defeated by, iii. 21; Sir M. Langdale defeated at Malpas, iii. 22; position of, before second battle of Newbury, iii. 24; second battle of Newbury, iii. 29, 31; strange conduct of commanders of, iii. 32; Basing House garrison put to death by Cromwell, iii. 33; dissolute conduct of soldiers of, iii. 36; quarrel of Manchester and Cromwell, iii. 40; Fairfax, Lieutenant-general of, iii. 41; treaty of Uxbridge, iii. 42; Shrewsbury surrendered, Weymouth taken, iii. 58–9; note, iii. 59; battle of Pontefract, iii. 67; Cromwell takes Blechington House, iii. 76; movements of Cromwell, iii. 77–9; Plymouth besieged, iii. 78; Leicester besieged, iii. 87–8–9; Cromwell at Banbury, iii. 91; Taunton relieved, iii. 95; Cromwell and Fairfax, iii. 97; Ireton defeats Cavaliers, iii. 102; junction of Fairfax and Cromwell, iii. 103; battle of Naseby, iii. 103, 112; movements of Fairfax, iii. 123; Scots approach Worcester, iii. 136; Fairfax and Cromwell in the West, iii. 153; Bristol taken, iii. 162, 184; Exeter taken, and Oxford besieged, iii. 218; Oxford taken, iii. 230; strength of Parliamentary army in the North, iii. 246; Cavaliers under Hamilton defeated by Cromwell at Preston, iii. 403; besiege Colchester. iii. 404–5.

Army, Royalist; its composition, i. 167; encamps near Berwick, i. 168; negotiations opened with Covenanters, i. 190; first symptoms of its opposition to popular power, i. 190; army plot, i. 191; at Ripon, i. 197; officered by soldiers of fortune, i. 198; demoralization of, i. 199; Lord Holland, General of,

Army, Royalist, *continued.* betrays King's cause to Parliament, *ib.*; increase of, at Nottingham, i. 378; Lord Goring surrenders Portsmouth, i. 379; march to Derby, i. 381; joined by Lord Paget, i. 382; imposing appearance of, i. 382; Lord Northampton attacks Warwick Castle, i. 383; head-quarters of, at Shrewsbury, i. 384; speech of Charles I. to, i. 385; want of arms for, i. 389; seizure of arms at Bradgate, i. 390; leave Worcester and retire towards Shrewsbury, i. 402; falls back upon Ludlow, i. 406; expedition of, to Chester, i. 411; capture of arms at Nantwich, *ib.*; survey of, at Shrewsbury, i. 412, 421; mode of raising, unlike any before, i. 417; description of Lord Stuart's troop of Guards, i. 422; equipment of cavalry in, i. 424; description of infantry in, i. 426–9; list of principal officers in, i. 430; advance of, in three divisions, ii. 3; chiefly composed of gentlemen, *ib.*; strength of, at Edgehill, ii. 4; manœuvres of, ii. 5; jealousy of commanders in, ii. 8; Coventry summoned, ii. 9; Lord Digby worsted at Wolverhampton, *ib.*; skirmish at Wormleighton, ii. 10; manœuvres of, *ib.*; jealousy of volunteers at Edgehill, ii. 17; position of, after battle of Edgehill, ii. 37; at Banbury, ii. 39; dilatory movements of, ii. 40; progress of, to London, ii. 53, 56, 61; the King's position at Acton, ii. 59, 60; at Brentford, ii. 61; battle of Brentford, ii. 63; falls back upon Reading, ii. 66; garrisons Wallingford and Brill, ii. 71; Sir William Waller takes Farnham Castle, ii. 73; at Oxford, ii. 76–9; badly equipped, ii. 77, 85; Lord Newcastle in the North, ii. 78; movements of, ii. 85; Sir J. Byron at Brentford, ii. 90; Brill Hill garrisoned by, ii. 93; battle of Bradock Downs, ii. 99; battle of Strutton Downs, ii. 100; Lord Digby in Wales, ii. 101; positions of, in January, 1643, ii. 102; Rupert takes Cirencester, ii. 109; summons Gloucester, ii. 110; position of, ii. 143; battle of Birmingham, ii. 152–3–4; position of, in Cheshire, ii. 158; Rupert attacks Lich-

Army, Royalist, *continued*.
field, ii. 159, 161-6-7-8-9; Reading surrendered, ii. 180; junction of Royalist forces in the West, ii. 192; Prince Maurice at Worcester, ii. 195; Chalgrove fight, ii. 203-9; movements of, ii. 217-8-9, 220-1-2; retrospect of campaign, ii. 231; battle of Lansdown, ii. 233; retire to Devizes, ii. 234; battle of Roundway Down, *ib.*; siege of Bristol, ii. 236; loss of, at siege of Bristol, ii. 265; success of, ii. 271; council of war at Bristol, its consequences, ii. 272; besieges Gloucester, ii. 275-6, 280-1-2; Cirencester surprised, ii. 287; battle in Auborn Chase, ii. 289-90-1; battle of Newbury, ii. 293; movements in West of England, ii. 302-3; movements of Newcastle in the North, ii. 307; review of loss of leaders, ii. 314; Bedford taken, ii. 321; movements of Lieutenant Hopton, ii. 326; mode of maintaining, ii. 335-6-7; retrospect of campaign of 1643, ii. 341; skirmishing in Midland Counties, ii. 346-7; siege of Nantwich, note, ii. 365; military details, ii. 370-1; reinforced from Ireland, ii. 373; state of Royalist forces in the North, ii. 381; Newark relieved, ii. 392-3-4-5-6-7; battle of Brandon Heath, ii. 404; Cropedy-bridge, ii. 420-1; relief of Lathom-house, ii. 426-7-8-9; battle of Bolton, ii. 430-1; anxious to engage Parliamentary forces, ii. 442; battle of Marston-Moor, ii. 447; plan of battle, ii. 455; officers of, address a letter to Essex for peace, iii. 8; junction of Sir R. Grenville with, iii. 11; Essex blocked up at Foy by, *ib.*; details of campaign, iii. 12, 15; Lord Byron's defeat, iii. 21; defeat of Sir M. Langdale at Malpas, iii. 22; distress of the garrisons, ii. 26; Banbury relieved, iii. 28; second battle of Newbury, iii. 29, 31; Basing-House, destruction of garrison, iii. 33; difficulties in obtaining supplies for, iii. 35; mode of obtaining supplies, iii. 58; Shrewsbury surrendered, Weymouth reduced, iii. 58, note, iii. 59; battle of Pontefract, iii. 67, note; Northern horse petition for home-quarters, iii. 71; movements of, iii.

Army, Royalist, *continued*.
73-4; position of, before battle of Naseby, iii. 85; Goring at Taunton, iii. 86; Campden-house dismantled, iii. 87; Leicester besieged, *ib.* 88-9; defeat of Cavaliers by Ireton, iii. 102; battle of Naseby, iii. 103, 112; Goring defeated at Lamport, iii. 137; siege of Bristol, iii. 162, 184; council of war acquit Rupert of surrendering Bristol dishonourably, iii. 201-2-3; Oxford surrendered, iii. 230; Exeter taken and Oxford besieged, iii. 218; defeated at Preston, iii. 403; Goring defeated at Maidstone, *ib.*; insurrection in Kent, *ib.*; defence of Colchester, iii. 404-5; death of Sir C. Lucas and Sir G. Lisle, iii. *ib.*

Arundel, Lord; goes as ambassador to Vienna, i. 71; commands the main army in the Scotch war, i. 165.

Arundell, Lady; her defence of Wardour Castle, ii. 215.

Associated Counties, mustering of forces in, ii. 312-3-4.

Astley, Sir Jacob, at the siege of Breda, i. 80; prayer of, at Edgehill, ii. 21, *see* note, *ib.*; Governor of Reading, ii. 314; to Prince Rupert, complaining of rapacity of soldiers, ii. 359; memoir of, i. 467.

——— Lord, to Prince Rupert, progress of new levies, iii. 145.

Aston, Sir Arthur, to Prince Rupert; military operations at Reading, ii. 175; Legge's correspondence with Governor of Gloucester, ii. 276.

Aubigny, Lord, slain at Edgehill, ii. 29; note, *ib.*

——— Lady, letters to Prince Rupert, ii. 145, note; implicated in Waller's Plot, ii. 200.

Auborn Chase, battle in, ii. 289-90-1.

Aylesbury, Prince Rupert's foray in Vale of, ii. 47; battle at, ii. 48.

Balfour, Sir William, Lieutenant of, the Tower, i. 195; refuses Lord Strafford's bribe, *ib.*; resigns his command and receives 3000*l.* i. 196.

Banbury, skirmish near, ii. 186.

Bard, Dudley, son of Prince Rupert, killed at siege of Buda, iii. 467; note, ib.

Basing-House garrison put to death by Cromwell, iii. 33.

Bassompierre, his description of Court of Charles I. i. 72.

Battles, &c.

- Armeatiers, siege, iii. 239; Arundel Castle, ii. 238; Auborn Chase, ii. 289–90–1.
- Bristol, siege, ii. 236, 259; iii. 162; Brentford, ii. 63; Brandon Heath, ii. 404; Birmingham, ii. 152–3–4; Bradock Downs, ii. 99; Bolton, ii. 341; Basing-House, iii. 33; Blechington-House, iii. 76.
- Cirencester, ii. 109; Chalgrove, ii. 203–9; Cropedy Bridge, ii. 420.
- Colchester, iii. 404–5.
- Edgehill, battle of, ii. 13.
- Gainsborough, ii. 271.
- Gloucester, ii. 279.
- Hopton's Heath, battle of, ii. 136.
- Lichfield siege, ii. 132, 161–9; Lansdown, ii. 230; Lathom House, ii. 429.
- Leicester siege, iii. 87–9.
- Lamport, iii. 137.
- Marston Moor, ii. 447; Malpas, iii. 22; Maidstone, iii. 405.
- Newbury, ii. 293; iii. 29–31; Nantwich, ii. 365, note; Naseby, iii. 103–12; Newark, ii. 392.
- Preston, iii. 403; Plymouth, siege, iii. 78; Powick Bridge, i. 403; Pontefract, iii. 67.
- Roundway Down, iii. 234.
- Stratton Downs, ii. 100; Shrewsbury, iii. 58–9, note; Schonevett, iii. 503.
- Warwick Castle, i. 183; Wolverhampton, ii. 9; Wormleighton, ii. 10.

Bavaria, Duke of, reply of, i. 77, *see* note, *ib.*

——— the Duchess of, enmity of, to Prince Rupert, i. 102; *see* note, *ib.*

Bedford, Earl of, General of Parliamentary horse, i. 376.

Bellenden, Sir William, to Prince Rupert, commissariat supplies, ii. 402; strength of Parliamentary army in the North, iii. 247.

Benett, Col. (the Prince's secretary), Life of Prince Rupert by, i. 441.

Berkeley, Sir Robert, committed to prison, i. 183.

——— Capt., breaks parole, ii. 210–1–2.

Berwick, pacification of, i. 173.

Birmingham, battle of, Roundhead account of, ii. 152–3–4; Royalist account of, ii. 154–5.

Blake, Mr. treachery of, ii. 35; hanged at Oxford, *ib.*

Blake, Col. Robt. instruction to, note, iii. 255; blockades Rupert in the Tagus, iii. 301; demands the Princes as prisoners, *ib.*; refusal of King of Portugal, iii. 301; endeavours to entrap the Prince on a hunting excursion, iii. 304, note iii. 469.

Bohemia, King of, *see* Frederick Prince Palatine.

——— Queen of, *see* Queen.

Bonavista, description of, iii. 353.

Bradgate, seizure of arms, i. 360.

Bradock Downs, battle of, ii. 99.

Brandon Heath, battle of, ii. 404.

Breda, surrender of, to the Prince of Orange, i. 82; humorous incident at, *ib.*

Brentford, battle of, ii. 63.

Bristol, account of siege of, from the Journal of Prince Rupert, ii. 236; taken, note, ii. 264; Council of War at, ii. 272; siege of, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, iii. 162; Rupert's declaration, iii. 164; condition of the garrison, iii. 166; condition of fortifications, iii. 169; citizens promised protection by Cromwell and Fairfax, iii. 171; summons of Fairfax, iii. 172; articles of agreement for surrender of, note, iii. 176; Parliamentary Papers relating to, iii. 180–1–2–3–4.

Brook, Lord, exhorts the citizens of London to resistance, ii. 55; exaggerates the battle of Edgehill, ii. 56, note, *ib.*; attacks Lichfield; death of, ii. 134, note, *ib.*

Buckingham, Duke of, character of, i. 145, note, *ib.*; impeachment of, i. 148, note, *ib.*; besieges Rochelle, i. 150, note, *ib.*; assassinated by Felton, i. 154, note, *ib.*

Byron, Sir John, pedigree of, i. 236, note; at Fawsley Court, ii. 51; letters to Prince Rupert, ii. 76, note, *ib.*; defeats detachment at Brentford, ii. 90; at siege of Bristol, ii. 262; to Prince Rupert on commissiariat affairs, ii. 329; Governor of Chester, ii. 329; movements of Royalists, ii. 355.

Charles I., *continued.*
summons the Long Parliament, i. 178, note, *ib.*; signs petition of army plot, i. 194; deserted by his councillors, i. 195; goes to Scotland, watched by Parliament, i. 200; returns to London, loyalty of the citizens, i. 202; remonstrance of Commons presented to, i. 204, *see* note, *ib.*; Irish rebellion attributed to, i. 206, note; promises his ministry not to interfere with Commons, i. 219; goes to the House to seize five members, i. 220, note i. 222; proceeds to the City to demand the five members, i. 223; retires to Hampton Court, i. 225; attempts to seize Hull, i. 242; fallen condition of, i. 244; his plans betrayed, i. 245; sanctions the expulsion of the bishops from Parliament, i. 245; encroachments of the Commons, i. 247; Prince of Wales, demanded by Commons as hostage, *ib.*; firmness of the King on the Militia Bill, i. 248; proceeds to York, i. 250; his reception in the North, i. 254; Sir Philip Warwick's description of, i. 256; maintains his prerogative by the printing press, i. 257; increase of the King's Court at York, i. 259; deprives Lords Essex and Holland of their offices, *ib.*; proposes to Parliament to visit Ireland, i. 261; attempts to seize Hull, i. 262; the King shut out at Beverley Gate, i. 264; declares Sir J. Hotham a traitor, i. 265; watched by Parliamentary committee, i. 266; prepares for war, i, 268; issues commission of array, i. 269; nineteen propositions of Parliament sent to, *ib.*, *see* note, *ib.*; joined by many Members of Commons at York, i. 274; bases his actions upon the law, i. 275; unhappy position of the King, *ib.*; summons a meeting of Yorkshire gentlemen, i. 276; his motives defeated by Sir Thos. Fairfax, *ib.*; summons a meeting of freeholders on Heyworth Moor, i. 277; reception of, *ib.*; Sir Thomas Fairfax forces a petition on the King, i. 278; position of affairs, *ib.*; declaration to his supporters at York, *ib.*, *see* note, *ib.*; attempts to raise money, i. 282, note,

Charles I., *continued.*
ib.; vigour of the King, i. 291; commencement of hostilities, i. 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298; leaves York and proceeds to Beverley, i. 301; again appears before Hull, i. 309; discomfiture of, i. 310; returns to York, i. 311; declaration of recapitulating his wrongs, i. 316; forbids Roman Catholics to join his army, i. 317; leaves York, and proceeds to Nottingham, i. 319; sets up his standard, i. 320–8; movement of the King, i. 322; repulsed at Coventry, i. 324; retires to Leicester, joined by Prince Rupert, i. 326; his character scrutinized by historians, i. 329; merits of quarrel between him and Parliament, i. 340, 341; his efforts neutralized by his party, i. 351; forebodings of, at Nottingham, *ib.*; holds a Chapter of the Garter, i. 353; receives news of the loss of Portsmouth, i. 354; his precipitation in raising standard, i. 355; negotiates with Parliament, i. 356; reception of his ambassadors, *ib.*; renews his efforts for peace, i, 357, note, *ib.*; answer of Parliament, i. 358; levies of the King increase, *ib.*; prepares to move to the South, i. 359; inclined for peace, i. 371; at Nottingham, i. 378; buoyancy of his spirits, i. 380; goes to Derby, i. 381; spares Chartley Park, seat of the Earl of Essex, i. 384; head-quarters of, at Shrewsbury, *ib.*; speech of, to his army, i. 385; letter from, to Mayor of Leicester, disowning Rupert's forced loan, i. 396; letter to Prince Rupert, to protect Worcester, i. 398; goes to Chester, i. 409; his reception, i. 410; begins his march to London, i. 431; at Sir Wm. Chancies, ii. 8; at Edgehill, ii. 12, 23; his address to his soldiers, ii. 19, *see* note ii. 20; his proclamation frustrated at Edgehill, ii. 32; his position after Edgehill, ii. 37; passage from his Icon Basilicon, ii. 38; at Woodstock, ii. 43; at Oxford, ii. 44; critical position of, ii. 53; negotiation opened with Parliament, ii. 54–5–7–9, note, *ib.*; blamed for treachery, ii. 58; posi-

Charles I., *continued.*
ment, iii. 227 ; his last order to his garrisons, note, *ib.*; a prisoner at Holdenby, iii. 228; his seizure by Cornet Joyce, *ib.*; conveyed to Carisbrook Castle, iii. 229 ; taken by Fairfax to Hurst Castle, *ib.* ; his cause utterly lost, iii. 231 ; feelings of the people towards, iii. 248–9 ; letter to Rupert to send a ship to Isle of Wight, iii. 261 ; to Sir George Carteret, Bart., Rupert's intended attack on Guernsey, iii. 280–1 ; his want of tact, iii. 393 ; ennobled by misfortune, iii. 394 ; speech of to Parliamentay Commissioners, iii. 395 ; Lady D'Aubigny's plan of the King's escape frustrated, iii. 397, note, *ib.*; trial of, iii. 398 ; execution of, iii. 400 ; character of, i. 140.
Charles II. *see* Wales, Prince of.
Charles Louis, Prince, visit of, to Charles I., i. 57, *see* note, i. 58 ; purposed leader of a West Indian expedition, i. 61 ; letter to the Queen of Bohemia, marriage of Prince Rupert, i. 62 ; Rupert's expedition to Madagascar, i. 79 ; pays a part of his mother's debts, i. 78 ; departs for Westphalia, i. 80 ; joins Prince Rupert at the Hague, i. 82, *see* note, *ib.* ; conduct of at the battle of Lemgo, i. 91 ; his indifference to the fate of Prince Rupert. i. 93, *see* note, i. 105 ; visits England, ii. 342 ; his intrigues, *ib.*; arrives in London, iii. 24 ; his sordid conduct to his mother, iii. 427 ; vices of his Court, *ib.*; his conduct towards Prince Rupert, iii. 468.
Chillingworth, death of, at Arundel castle, ii. 328.
Cholmondeley, Sir Hugh, joins the Royal cause, ii. 129.
Chronological Catalogue of Letters in Rupert correspondence, i. 474.
Cirencester, battle of, ii. 106–7–8–9.
Civil war, position of partles at breaking out of, i. 267 ; England during the, i. 292 ; review of parties at commencement of, i. 338, 339, 340, 370.
Clarendon, Lord, *see* Hyde, Edward.
Clubmen, rising of, iii. 118.
Cochrane, John, to, mode of raising supplies, ii. 335.
Colebrook, taken by Prince Rupert ii. 51 ; description of, in City journals, *ib.*
Commission of array, copy of, i. 294.
Conigsmark, Count, commands the Palatine army, i. 83 ; cowardice of, at Lemgo, i. 87–90.
Convocation, the, votes money towards Scotch war, i. 174, *see* note *ib.*
Conway, Lord, general of horse in Scotch war, i. 175 ; routed by Gen. Leslie, i. 176.
Cornbury, Lord to Duchess of Beaufort ; description of Queen of Charles, iii. 461–4.
Court Mercury, its first appearance, ii. 89.
Council of War, minutes of, note, iii. 119 ; before Naseby, iii. 98–9.
Covenanters, army of, described by Baillie, i. 167, note. ; open negotiations with the English general, i. 170 ; moderate demands of, i. 171 ; pacification of Berwick, *ib.*; garrison, Berwick, ii. 310 ; receive 100,000*l.*, ii. 312 ; spread of the 'Covenant,' ii. 342 ; indulge their national instinct, and march 'south,' ii. 345 ; at Newcastle, ii. 376.
Coventry, description of, i. 324, note, *ib.* ; Charles 1. repulsed at, i. 324.
Crane, Sir Richard, dispatched to Charles First by Prince Rupert, a prisoner at Warrendorp, i. 92.
Craufurd, Lord, to Prince Rupert, for permission to attack, ii. 184–6 ; foraging parties, ii. 194.
Craven, Lord, Prince Rupert's portrait, bequeathed to, i. 73 ; subscribes 10,000*l.* for the Palatine, i. 78 ; joins the Palatine army, i. 83 ; taken prisoner at Lemgo, i. 90 ; detained at Warrendorp with Prince Rupert, i. 92, *see* note, *ib.* ; devotion of, to Queen of Bohemia, iii. 441–5 ; executor of Prince Rupert, iii. 542 ; extracts from MSS. in possession of, *ib.*
Cromwell, Oliver, his advice to Parliamentary army, i. 374 ; description of his 'Ironsides,' i. 375 ; confides to his 'Ironsides' that he would shoot the King, i. 377 ; trains his 'Ironsides,' ii. 313 ; raises siege of Lyme, ii. 422 ; comparatively unknown at Marston Moor, ii. 454 ; his stern bravery, ii. 459 ; puts

Dives, Lewis, *continued.*
Prince Rupert, movements of Essex, ii. 102; to the King, reduction of Weymouth, iii. 58, note; intercepts dispatch of storming of Bridgewater, iii. 147.
Documents relating to years 1642–3–4, i. 490.
Dorset, Earl of, to Prince Rupert, advising his stay in England, iii. 213.
Dryden, John, on the battle of the English and Dutch, iii. 47–8.
Dutch, expedition of, to Sheerness, iii. 494.

Edgehill, battle of, ii. 12; the pause before the battle, ii. 29; Prince Rupert's charge at, ii. 22; capture of Royal standard at, ii. 25; Capt. Smith retakes Royal standard, ii. 26; disputed victory, ii. 28; loss of Royalist forces at, ii. 29; loss of Parliamentary forces at, ii. 30, note, *ib.*; the day after the battle, ii. 31; concluding remarks upon, ii. 36.
Editions of works quoted in these volumes, iii. 561–2.
Elizabeth, *see* Queen.
——— Princess, her intended marriage broken off on religious motives, iii. 442; enters a convent, *ib.*
Emigrants, *see* note, i. 161; embargo on, i. 162, note, *ib.*
England, description of, during Civil War, i. 292; social and political condition of, under the Puritans, described, iii. 414–15–16.
Ernly, Sir Michael; loss of Montgomery Castle, iii. 25.
Essex, Earl, in Scotch war, i. 166, note, *ib.*; deprived of his office by Charles I. i. 259; joins the Parliament, i. 210; appointed commander of Parliamentary army, i. 290; takes command of Parliamentary army, i. 372; position of, as Lord-General, i. 373, note, *ib.*; arrives at Northampton, *ib.*; encourages loyalty, i. 377, note, *ib.*; enters Worcester, i. 410; his inactivity, ii. 5; his forbearance at Edgehill, ii. 18–33; ordered to give the King battle, ii. 41; receives 5000*l.* from Parliament for victory of Edgehill, ii. 52; marches to Turnham Green, ii. 64; reluctance of, to press the King to extremity, ii. 67; invests Oxford, ii, 80–
Essex, Earl, *continued.*
6–7! advances on Banbury, ii. 91; marches on Reading, ii. 140; returns to Oxford, ii. 195; to Sir H. Fiennes, ii. 196; to Prince Rupert; broken parole, ii. 212; movements of, near Aylesbury, ii. 242–3–5; musters on Hounslow Heath, ii. 285; relieves Gloucester, *ib.*; attacked by Rupert in Auborn Chase, ii. 289–290–1; at battle of Newbury, ii. 297; retires to Reading, ii. 298; reception of, in London, ii. 311; overtures of the King to, ii. 363; invests the King at Oxford, ii. 413; reply of, to the King's offer for peace, iii. 7; blocked up at Foy by Sir R. Grenville, iii. 11; resigns his command and receives 10,000*l.* per annum, iii. 41.

Fairfax, Sir Thomas, *see* note, i. 166; forces a petition on the King at Heyworth Moor, i. 278; proposed seizure of, *see* note, i. 319; to Earl of Essex, operations of Parliament forces in the North, ii. 380–1; at Marston Moor, ii. 462; organized model army at Windsor, iii. 51; at Naseby, iii. 106–7; besieges Bristol, iii. 162; promises protection to citizens, iii. 171; copy of summons of, iii. 172; besieges Oxford, iii. 230; copy of his pass to Prince Rupert, iii. 233, note; defeats Goring in Kent, iii. 403; besieges Colchester, iii. 404–5; condemns Sir C. Lucas and Sir G. Lisle to death, iii. 405; accused of private vengeance, iii. 407.
Faithful, Sir Fortescue, defection of, at Edgehill, ii. 22–3.
Falkland, Lord, speech of on episcopacy, i. 208, note; leading incidents in the life of, i. 212, note, *ib.*; negotiates between King and Parliament, i. 357; quarrels with Prince Rupert, ii. 11; death of, at battle of Newbury, ii. 294; note, *ib.*
Fane, Colonel, killed at Farnham Castle, ii. 73.
Fawsley, Court, plundered by Sir John Byron, ii. 51.
Ferdinand of Gratz, Emperor of Germany, educated by Jesuits, i. 21; character of, i. 22; wages war for thirty years, *ib.*; Bohemians revolt against, *ib.*

Harvey, the physician, at Edgehill, ii. 17; *see* note.

Hastings, Colonel, attempted seizure of, at Leicester, i. 297; *see* note, i. 298; to Prince Rupert invitation to attack Derby, ii. 96; model of partizan chief, ii. 97; note, *ib.*; to Prince Rupert, siege of Lichfield Close, ii. 162; for ammunition, ii. 373; Governor of Leicester, iii. 91; qnarrels of Cavaliers, iii. 146.

Heath, Judge, holds court of Justice at Oxford, ii. 93.

Henrietta Maria, Queen; *see* Qneen.

——— Princess, marries Prince Ragotski, iii. 144.

Henry VIII., taxation, and its consequences in the reign of, i. 125.

Herbert, Lord, letter to Prince Rupert, ii. 101; acknowledgment of his services from Rupert, ii. 357; his eccentric note to Rupert, iii. 22; surrenders Montgomery Castle, *ib.*; Edward, his mission to Ireland, iii. 139.

Hertford, Lord, *see* note, i. 298; besieged in Sherborne Castle, *see* note, *ib.* 354; movements of, in Wales, ii. 105; attacks Cirencester, ii. 106; note, *ib.*

Heylin, Dr. publishes Court Mercury, ii. 89.

Holland, Lord, pedigree of, i. 192 note; commands cavalry in Scotch war, i. 165; irresolution of, at Dunce, i. 169; disgraceful retreat of, i. 170; betrays the King's cause to Parliament, i. 199; joins the Cavaliers; taken prisoner and beheaded, iii. 407–8.

Hopton, Sir Ralph, imprisoned by Commons, i. 252; defeats Roundheads at Bradock Downs, ii. 99; advances on Plymouth, *ib.*; battle of Stratton Downs, ii. 100; clears West of England of Parliament forces, *ib.*; movements of, in search of Waller, ii. 231; at battle of Lansdown, ii. 253; created a peer, ii. 275; to Prince Rupert; arrival of arms at Bristol, ii. 278; applies for a Lieut.-Governor, ii. 291; movements of, in the West, ii. 326; removal of a regiment, ii. 333; complaining of his difficulties, ii. 359; defeated at Brandon Heath, ii. 404.

Hopton Heath, battle of, ii. 156.

Hostilities, commencement of, between Charles I. and the Parliament, i. 293.

Hotham, Sir J., treachery of, i. 301, 303; Governor of Hull; shuts the King out at Beverley Gate, i. 264; denounced a traitor by the King, i. 265, see note i. 310; protected by Parliament, *ib.*; joins Royal cause, ii. 129; character of, i. 243, note.

Hotham, junr., his attempt on Archbishop Williams, i. 304.

Howard, R. Capt., humorous account of his difficulties, iii. 56–7.

Hughes, Mrs., an actress, description of, iii. 491; ensnares Prince Rupert, iii. 492; marries General Howe, iii. 512.

Hull; Charles I, shut out at Beverley-gate, i. 264; and attempt of the King upon, i. 309; reinforced by 500 Parliament soldiers, *ib.*

Hurst Castle, situation of, described, iii. 396.

Hyde, Sir Edward, conversation with Sir Edmund Varney, on the state of feeling in Charles I.'s camp, i. 121; brief sketch of, i. 215, *see* note, *ib.*; to Prince Rupert, position of John Hampden, ii. 72; on various matters, iii. 92–3–4; arrival of stores and ammunition at Dartmouth, iii. 96; Goring at Lamport, iii. 134; difficulty of equipping Rupert's fleet, iii. 274; on carrying the Royal standard on board Rupert's ship, iii. 277; to Sir Edward Fanshaw — Rupert's motions — Batten's treachery, iii. 278–9, note; to Prince Rupert—death of Charles I. and other matters, iii. 282–3; soliciting memorials for history, iii. 292–3; on various matters, iii. 295–6; to Prince Rupert, urging him to join the King, iii. 419; his enmity to Rupert, iii. 422, note i. 215.

Index and abstract to Rupert correspondence, i. 491.

Icon Basilicon, authorship of, doubtful, ii. 38. note.

Inchiquin, Lord, leaves the King and goes to Ireland, iii. 6.

Infantry, description of, in Royalist army, i. 426.

Ireton, General, defeats Cavaliers, iii. 102.

Ironsides, Cromwell's, described, i. 375.

James I., his cowardly advice to the Prince Palatine, i. 30 ; brief review of his reign, i. 129 ; his character, i. 130, note, *ib.* ; progress of the people in the reign of, i. 134 ; his conduct to the twelve judges, i. 135; Parliament postpones supplies, i. 136, note, *ib.* ; foreign policy of, i. 137, note, *ib.* 138.
James II. to Duke of Beaufort ; repeal of Test acts, iii. 550.
Jermyn, Lord, description of, ii. 229, note to ; Oxford Parliament raises 100,000*l.* for the King, ii. 374 ; to Prince Maurice, siege of Lyme, ii. 422–3 ; to Prince Rupert, marriage of Prince Edward, iii. 82 ; expediency of Prince of Wales going to Scotland, iii. 308 ; French news, Charles II. in Scotland, iii. 389 ; to Prince Rupert, urging him to join Charles II., iii. 420.
Jones, Inigo, at the Court of Charles I., i. 72.
Jonson, Ben, Poet Laureate to Charles I., i. 72.

Killigrew, Sir Henry, defeat reply of, when called upon to declare his views, i. 288 ; declares for the King, *ib.*
King, General, at the battle of Lemgo, *see* note, i. 80, i. 99 ; cowardice of, at Lemgo, ii. 444 ; hatred of, to Rupert, *ib.*
Kuffstein, Count, Governor of Lintz, attempts to convert Prince Rupert, i. 94.
———— Mademoiselle, de, her attachment to Prince Rupert, i. 95, 100.

Langdale, Sir M., defeated at Malpas, iii. 22 ; at Pontefract, iii. 67.
Langrish, Captain, informs Speaker of Commons of Charles's intention to seize five members, i. 222.
Lansdown, battle of, ii. 233.
Lathom House, siege of, ii. 426 ; garrison make a sally, ii. 427.
Laud, Archbishop, conscientiousness of, i. 156–164 ; impeached by Long Parliament, i. 183 ; beheaded, iii. 42–3, note ; character of, i, 435.
Leicester, Earl of, to Charles First, marriage of Prince Rupert, i. 63 ; to Mr. Secretary Windebank thereon, i. 66.
———— trial of strength at, i. 294 ; Colonel Hástings proclaims the Royal Commission at, i. 296 ; Prince Rupert levies contributions on, i. 397 ; letter to the mayor of, i. 394 ; citizens of, remonstrate to the King, i. 395 ; letter from Charles I., to the mayor, disavowing Prince Rupert's act. i. 396 ; siege of, iii. 87–8–9 ; effects of, iii. 90.
Legge, Major, pedigree of, *see* note, i. 201 ; taken prisoner, ii. 163 ; commands in Oxfordshire, ii. 340 ; order from Council of War to, *ib.* ; appointed master of horse, ii. 406–7 ; to Rupert, defeat of Lord Byron, iii. 21 ; appointed governor of Oxford, iii. 83 ; to Lord Digby, Rupert's conduct at Naseby vindicated by, iii, 128–9–130 ; imprisoned, iii. 189 ; released from prison, iii. 212 ; advises Rupert to offer his services to the King, iii. 213 ; a prisoner to Parliament, iii. 416.
Lemgo, battle of, i. 85.
Leopold, Archdeacon, visits Prince Rupert while prisoner at Lintz, i. 97 ; endeavours to obtain his release, i. 101.
Leslie, General, commands Covenanters' army, i. 169 ; routes Lord Conway at the Tyne, i. 176.
Lesley, Count, endeavours to obtain release of Prince Rupert, i. 101.
Lichfield Cathedral, desecrated by the Puritans, *see* note, ii. 169.
Lindsey, Lord, *see* note i. 320–1 ; raises 600 men for the King, i. 378 ; his advice at Edgehill overruled, ii. 14 ; resigns command of Royal Army, ii. 15 ; death of, ii. 25, 34.
Lincolnshire, paper of advice on putting troops in, ii. 218, note.
Lisle, Sir G., death of, at Colchester, ii. 405 ; epitaph of, ii. 407.
Lichfield, besieged by Lord Brook, ii. 132–3–4–5.
London, loyalty of the citizens to Charles I. 203, *see* note i. 204 ; aspect of in the time of the Cavaliers, i. 226, note, *ib.* ; citizens of, sympathize with Parliament i. 134 ; alarm of citizens after battle of

London, *continued.*
Edgehill, ii. 40; apprentices of, enlist in trained bands, ii. 65; citizens of, petition for peace, ii. 111; described by a Frenchman in 1643, ii. 351.
Loughborough, Lord, *see* Hastings, Colonel.
Louisa, Princess, enters a convent, iii. 443.
Lucas, Sir Charles, to Prince Rupert, military details in the North, ii. 370; death of, at Colchester, iii. 405; epitaph of, iii. 407, note *ib.*
Lundy Island, summoned to surrender to Parliament, iii. 3, note.
Lunsford, Sir Thomas, description of, i. note; offers of, to Charles I. to seize the five members, i. 223.

Madagascar, proposed expedition to, i. 59.
Mansfeldt, *see* note, i. 42.
Manchester, Earl, his quarrel with Cromwell, iii. 40.
Marston Moor, note, ii. 446; battle of, ii. 447; note, *ib.*; plan of battle, ii. 455; loss of life at, ii. 463; note, *ib.*; state of Northern army before battle of, ii. 481.
Marvel, Andrew, on the execution of Charles I. iii. 400.
Mary, *see* Queen.
Martinique, description of, iii. 371–2–3.
Massey, Edward, to Governor of Abingdon; Rupert's march to Oxford, iii. 81.
Maurice, Prince, birth of, i. 40; at the siege of Breda, i. 80; goes to a French university, i. 82; embarks with Prince Rupert for England, i. 109; quarrels with Lord Hertford, i. 269; his haughty character, *ib.*; cause of quarrel, note, *ib.*; takes Exeter, ii 305; at Polesloe, ii. 303; note *ib.*; illness of, ii. 307; at Reading, ii. 360; to Colonel Seymour, ii. 361; to King Charles I. military arrangements, ii. 411; appointed to government of Wales, iii. 51; to Prince Rupert thereon, *ib.*; summons meeting of associated counties, iii. 53; to Prince Rupert thereon, *ib.*; for increase of power, iii. 54; desertion of his soldiers, iii. 60; in Wales, iii. 61; appoints rendezvous at Wrexham, *ib.*; at Chester, iii. 61; his order of march, iii. 72; his affection for Rupert, iii. 189, 333; fidelity to the King, iii. 225; embarks for Holland, iii. 236; hoists his flag in the Defiance, iii. 362; lost in a hurricane in the West Indies, iii. 384; reports of his return to Europe, iii. 428, note.
Maximilian invades Bohemia, i. 37; battle of Prague, *ib.*
Mazarine, French ambassador, arrives at Oxford, ii. 319.
Milton, John, sonnet by, affixed to his house, ii. 41, note.
Mennes, Sir John, to Prince Rupert, reinforcements from Ireland, ii. 373.
Mezzotinto, discovered by Prince Rupert, iii. 435; invention of, claimed by Sir C. Wren, iii. 436; said to be discovered by a soldier, iii. 437; early etchings in British Museum, iii. 438; observations on Rupert's claims to discovery of iii. 439–40–1–2; list of Prince Rupert's engravings, iii. 546.
Monk, General, a lieutenant at the siege of Breda, i. 80; a soldier of fortune, i. 198, note; taken prisoner at Nantwich, ii. 334; note, iii. 469; joint commander with Rupert of English fleet, iii. 472; note, iii. 479.
Montgomery, Castle, surrendered, iii. 22, 5.
Montrose, Earl of, becomes attached to the cause of Charles I. i. 173; note, iii. 45; gains battle of Kilsyth; its consequences, iii. 116; to Prince Rupert; letter of congratulation, iii. 254; correspondence of, with Prince Rupert, iii. 267–8–9–70, 307.
Nantwich, capture of, by Lord Grandison, i. 411; siege of, note, ii. 365.
Naseby, battle of, council of War, iii. 98; aspect of country round, iii. 101, note, *ib.*; the King decides for battle, iii. 103, note, *ib.*: position of Fairfax and Cromwell at, *ib.*; plan of battle, iii. 104; Fairfax and Cromwell at, iii. 107; battle-cry at, iii. 106; description of, iii, 108–9; the King's appeal to Cavaliers at,

Oxford, City of, *continued.* Charles I.'s Court at, ii. 45; lends 10,000*l.* to the King, ii. 77; invested by Essex, ii. 80; in 1642, ii. 81; diplomacy at, ii. 138; the Earl of Northumberland at, ii. 139; the Queen arrives at, ii. 217; rejoicings at, for capture of Bristol, ii. 270; Parliament held at, ii. 363; 100,000*l.* voted for the King, ii. 374; surrender of, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, iii. 230.

Palatine Army, organized at Mepping, i. 82; *see* notes, i. 84, 85; dispersed at Lemgo, i. 91.

——— Elector, *see* Frederick and Charles Louis.

Parliament, English, unconscious of its power in Henry VII.'s reign, i. 241; note i. 125; confidences of Charles I in his first Parliament, i. 142; conduct of first Parliament, i. 144, 145; dissolved, *ib.*; second parliament assembled, i. 147; dissolved, i. 148; war declared with France, i. 149; third Parliament summoned, i. 151; presents petition of right to the King, i. 153; Commons denounce the Duke of Buckingham, i. 154; tonnage and poundage levied without consent of, i. 155; peace with France and Spain, *ib.*; (Short) Parliament summoned, i. 174; dissolved, *ib.*; (Long) Parliament called, i. 178; strength of reform party in Long Parliament, i. 179; impeaches Lord Strafford, i. 180; Strafford committed, i. 181; bill of attainder against Strafford, i. 185; Commons disband Irish army, i. 200; appoint three members to watch the King, i. 201; Commons present the remonstrance to the King, i. 204; bishops deprived of their seats, i. 207-245; Sir Edward Deering's bill, i. 208; raises forces by conscription, i. 209; growing power of, *ib.* 239; Charles I. attempts to seize Five Members of Commons, i. 220; committee of, meets Five Members in the City, i. 224; triumphant return of Five Members to, i. 225; citizens of London sympathise with, i. 234; appoint Major-General Skeppon Lieutenant of Tower, i. 236; passes Militia bill, i. 241; appoints Sir J. Hotham governor of Hull, i.

Parliament, English, *continued.*

243; encroachments of the Commons, i. 247; demand Prince of Wales as hostage, i. 247; Charles I. refuses his assent to Militia bill, i. 248; prepares for war, i. 249; arbitrary conduct of, to Roman Catholics, i. 251; Charles I. proposes to visit Ireland, i. 261; refusal of Commons, i. 262; attempt of the King to seize Hull, *ib.*; the King refused admittance by Sir J. Hotham, i. 264; protects Sir J. Hotham, i. 265; committee of, refuse to leave the King, i. 266; prepares for war, i. 268; nineteen propositions of, sent to the King, i. 269; copy of, *ib*; false position of Parliamentary leaders, i. 270; reformers guilty of falsehood, i. 271; members of, allowed 4*l.* per week, i. 272; declares itself indissoluble, *ib*; constitution of Long Parliament, ii. 479; Long Parliament maintained by the eloquence of a few, i. 273; position of affairs, i. 278; many members join the King at York, i. 274; levies troops, i. 279; offers eight per cent. for money, i. 280; liberality of the citizens to, i. 281; raises a loan of 100,000*l.*; levy 10,000 volunteers in London, i. 288; appoint committee of public safety, i. 289; statement of forces of, i. 290; commencement of hostilities, i. 293; reinforces Hull, i. 309; brief review of Parliamentary leaders, i. 344; note, i. 343-4-5-6-7; Charles I. makes overtures of peace to, i. 356; haughty reception of ambassadors by, *ib*; the King renews his efforts for peace, i. 357; answer of Parliament to the King, i. 358; policy of, towards the King, i. 359; offers pardon, to their opponents, with certain exceptions, i. 409; alarm of, at advance of Royalists, ii. 6; *see* note, ii. 7; alarm of, after battle of Edgehill, ii. 39; opens negotiations with the King, ii. 54-5-7-9; monopolises revenue and taxes, ii. 77; efforts of, to gain a Scotch alliance, ii. 78; note, *ib.*; forms associated counties, ii. 79; members of, allowed 4*l.* per week, ii. 94; sends deputation to Charles I., ii. 112-3-4; again proposes cessation of hostilities, ii. 131; alarmed at Royalist successes, ii. 270; seek aid from

Queen Elizabeth, *continued.* *see* note, *ib.*; levity of her Court, i. 69, *see* note, i. 70; endeavours to release Prince Rupert from prison, i. 93; pretended letter of disowning acts of Rupert, iii. 148; to Sir Jacob Astley inviting him to the Hague, ii. 198; pawns her jewels to fit out Rupert's fleet, iii. 281; her distressed condition, supported by the States, iii. 427–442; Lord Craven's devotion to, iii. 441–2; 10,000*l.* voted to her by English Parliament, iii. 444; arrives in England, iii. 445; death of, iii. *ib.*

Rabutin, M. de, description of Cavalier life, ii. 83.
Ramsey, Sir John, taken prisoner, ii. 75.
Reading, siege of, ii. 180; breach of articles of war, *ib.*
Rebellion (Irish), its consequences to Charles I., i. 207.
Rhodes, Joseph, to Prince Rupert; attempted treachery at Newark, iii. 48–9.
Richmond, Duke of, to ——— ; Digby's intrigues; refusal of Essex to treat with the King, iii. 7, note.
Rigby, Colonel, attacks Lathom-house, ii. 427.
Ripon, Treaty of, i. 176.
Rivers, Countess of, her house attacked, ii. 121, note.
Robinson, Thomas, letter of; state of the City of London, ii. 95.
Rohan, Mademoiselle de, intended marriage of, i. 61; attachment of, to Prince Rupert, i. 63; marries Henri Chabot, i. 69.
Roundway Down, battle at, ii. 234.
Roundhead, origin of the term, i. 210, note, *ib.*
Roundheads, the social condition of England under their rule described, iii. 415–16–17.
Rousewell, Colonel, defence of Lichfield-close, ii. 161—9.
Rubens, P., domiciled in England, i. 73.
Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, patriotic conduct of, i. 267; character of, i. 283; manly speech of, i. 284; speech of, ii. 131, note; death of, *see* note, i. 315.
Rupert Prince, early history of, little known, i. 17; varied career of, i. 18, *see* note, *ib.*; birth of, i. 27, 31; joy of the Bohemians, i. 32, note, *ib.*; Bethlem Gaber godfather to, *ib.*; his escape from the Battle of Prague, i. 38; educated at Leyden, i. 44; his early passion for war, *ib.*; at the siege of Rhynberg, i. 49, *see* note, *ib.*; carries off the palm at a tournament, i. 50; letter from his father at Munich, i. 51; makes his first campaign, i. 56; visit of, to Charles I. i. 58; proposal of Laud to make him a bishop, i. 59; proposal to make him Viceroy of Madagascar, i. 59; his intended marriage with Mademoiselle de Rohan, i. 61; singular correspondence thereon, i. 62; imprisoned at Lintz, i. 68; made Master of Arts at Oxford, i. 71; picture of, at Combe Abbey, i. 73; his taste for the arts, i. 74; delights in hunting, i. 76; departs for the Hague, i. 80; at the siege of Breda, i. 80; his vigilance and courage, i. 81; returns to the Hague, *ib.*; organizes a little army at Mepping, i. 83; commands a regiment of cavalry, *ib.*; desperate charge of, at Rhennius, *ib.*; joined by Swedes under General King, i. 13; description of this Palatine army, i. 84; at the Battle of Lemgo, i. 87; his singular escape and ultimate capture at Lemgo, i. 89–90; detained a prisoner at Warrendorp, i. 92; solicits aid from Charles I. *ib.*; removed to the Castle of Lintz, *ib.*; efforts of his mother to save him, i. 93; his attempted conversion by Count Kuffstein, i. 94, *see* note, *ib.*; his attachment to Mademoiselle de Kuffstein, i. 95, *see* note, *ib*; visited by Archduke Leopold, i. 97; is placed on his parole, *ib.*; Charles I. negotiates for his liberty, *ib.*; offends the Emperor Ferdinand III., i. 98, *see* note, *ib.*; his amusements in prison, i. 99, *see* note, *ib.*; Archduke Leopold renews his efforts to obtain his release, i. 101; released on his parole, i. 103, note, *ib.*; Ferdinand tries to win him over to his service, *ib.*; offered a command against the French and Swedes, *ib.*; his refusal, *ib.*; his devotion to the cause of the Cavaliers, i. 104; visits King

Rupert, Prince, *continued.*
ii. 401 ; to Will. Legge, appointment of Master of Horse, ii. 406 ; attends council of war at Oxford, ii. 409 ; advice of, ii. 410 ; returns to Shrewsbury, ii. 411 ; his advice neglected, its consequences, ii. 412 ; to the Constable of Harleigh Castle, ii. 425 ; brilliant career of, in the North, ii. 425 ; relieves Lathom House, ii. 429 ; desperate charge at Bolton, ii. 430 ; to Bishop of Chester, care for his troops, ii. 432 ; at Knaresborough, ii. 440 ; relieves York, ii. 442 ; quarrels with Earl of Newcastle, ii. 445-6 ; note, *ib.*, position of, at Marston Moor, iii. 449 ; his charge at Marston Moor, ii. 458; deserted, ii. 460 ; his retreat from Marston Moor, ii. 461 ; reaches York, ii. 406 ; death of his dog, ii. 465 ; reaches Shrewsbury, ii. 471 ; meets Montrose, *ib.* ; at Bristol, iii. 26 ; to Colonel Legge — his relation with Digby, iii. 27 ; second battle of Newbury, iii. 29 ; extracts from his diary of second battle of Newbury, iii. 31 ; exchanges compliments with garrison at Basing-house, iii. 33 ; enters Oxford with the King, iii. 33 ; Generalissimo, iii. 34 ; his difficulties in obtaining supplies, iii. 35 ; his influence over his officers, iii. 37 ; copy of passport of, iii. 38 ; to Essex, for pass for Duke of Richmond and Lord Southampton, iii. 41-2 ; Uxbridge treaty, iii. 53 ; Sir A. Aston's pass, iii. 62 ; to Colnel Legge—anticipated rebellion in Wales, iii. 63-4 ; for stores or money, iii. 68-9 ; on various matters, iii. 70; engages Massey at Hereford, hangs thirteen Parliament soldiers, iii. 72; to Colonel Legge, detailing his movements, iii. 73 ; movements of Goring, iii. 75 ; on his Oxford command, iii. 83; squib against, iii. 84 ; his difficulties before battle of Naseby, iii. 85-6 ; at siege of Leicester, iii. 88-9 ; his advice neglected—endeavours to meet Cromwell at Naseby, iii. 105 ; after battle of Naseby, iii. 113 ; advises the King to agree with Parliament, iii. 117 ; pacifies the club-men, iii. 119; to Colonel Legge, battle of Naseby, iii. 120 ; to Sir John Owen, for men

Rupert, Prince, *continued.*
and ammunition, iii. 121 ; remarkable note of, iii. 145 ; raises new levies, *ib.* ; to the Duke of Richmond ; the King's intended Scotch visit, iii. 149 ; to Colonel Legge, state of Bristol, iii. 151 ; prepares for siege of Bristol, iii. 153 ; to Sir Edward Nicholas, ammunition at Dartmouth, iii. 153 ; to Colonel Legge, the King's Scotch visit, iii. 156 ; surrenders Bristol, iii. 162 ; the Prince blamed, *ib.* ; declaration of, iii. 164 ; his narrative of condition of garrison of Bristol, iii. 166 ; calumniated for loss of Bristol, iii. 183 ; note, *ib.* ; passport of, iii. 186 ; to the King, on receiving his dismissal and passport, iii. 187–8 ; determines to see the King, iii. 190–9 ; extracts from his diary, iii. 193 ; meets the King ; demands court-martial ; verdict of council of war in favour of, iii. 201–2 ; Clarendon's opinion of the King's conduct towards, iii. 203 ; copy of Rupert's petition to the King, iii. 205 ; account of quarrel with the Cavaliers and the King, iii. 206, note ; applies to Parliament for pass for himself and Cavaliers, iii. 207 ; refuses conditional pass, and fights his way to Woodstock, iii, 211 ; returns to his duty, iii. 223 ; acknowledges his errors to the King, iii. 224 ; volunteers to follow the King to Scotland, iii. 225 ; taken prisoner at Oxford, iii. 229 ; obtains special terms in honour of his achievements, iii. 230 ; remove to Oatlands, iii. 234 ; ordered by Parliament to leave England in ten days, iii. 235 ; to the speaker thereon, *ib.* ; arrives at St. Germains, iii. 236 ; invited to enter French service, *ib.* ; made Mareschal de Camp, iii. 237 ; invitation to Sir John Owen to enter French service, *ib. note* ; at siege of Armeatiers, iii. 238 ; adventures with Marshal Gassion, iii. 239–241–4–5 ; at Arras, iii. 240 ; at La Basse, iii. 243 ; meets Lord Goring and Colonel Gage, *ib.* ; wounded in the head, iii. 245 : meets the Prince of Wales at St. Germains, iii. 248 ; receives a kind letter from Charles, at Hampton

Rupert, Prince, *continued.*
Court, *ib.*; at the Hague, iii. 249; again solicited to join French service, iii. 249; sails for the Downs with the Prince of Wales, *ib.*; mutiny of his seamen, iii. 250; joined by Captains Batten and Jordan, *ib.*; proposes to deliver the King, *ib.*; takes command of the fleet, iii. 255; undertakes a naval expedition, iii. 256; Royal exiles depend upon Rupert for support, iii. 257; levies contributions on the high seas, iii. 258; his mode of barter, iii. 260; maintains Royal exiles, *ib.*; reorganises his seamen, iii. 261; winters at the Hague, iii. 263; suppresses a mutiny, iii. 264; his scruples at taking command of fleet, iii. 271; endeavours to rescue the King at Carisbrook, iii. 272; his ships badly bound, iii. 273; departure of his fleet from Helvoetsluys, iii. 279; the Antelope sold to equip the rest, iii. 281; disperses English fleet in the Downs, iii. 282; receives news of Charles's execution at Kinsale, iii. 283; receives new commission from Charles II. iii. 285; to his mother, iii. 286; takes many prizes—relieves the Scilly Islands, iii. 288; one of his ships taken by Parliament cruisers, iii. 290; disposition of prize-shares, iii. 288–9; welcomed by Lord Taafe in Ireland, iii. 291; blockaded by Parliament fleet in Kinsale, iii. 292–3–4; perilous position of, iii. 297; takes fort of Kinsale, *ib.*; sails from Ireland, iii. 298; steers for Portugal, iii. 299; captures a Malaga man and two English ships, *ib.*; arrives in the Tagus, iii. 300; received by the King of Portugal, iii. 301; refits his ships, *ib.*; blockaded by Blake in the Tagus, iii. *ib.*; Blake demands of the King of Portugal to surrender up the Prince, iii. 302; refusal of the King, *ib.*; scheme of Blake to entrap the Prince, iii. 304; breaks blockade, iii. 309; his account of his cruise of Bayonne, iii. 311–12; sails for the "Straits," iii. 313; adventures in the Mediterranean, iii. 315–16; arrives at Toulon, iii. 318; his reception by the French authorities,

Rupert, Prince, *continned.*
iii. 319–20; sells his prizes, iii. 321; refits his ships, iii. 322; loses part of his fleet, *ib.*; buys the "Honest Seaman," iii. 324; joined by Captain Craven in the "Loyal Subject," *ib.*; leaves the Mediterranean, and takes a Genoese, *ib.*; captures a Spanish Indiaman, iii. 325; arrives at Madeira, *ib.*; mutiny in his fleet, iii. 326; reach the Canaries, *ib.*; parts company with the "Honest Seaman," iii. 327; arrives at the Azores, iii. 328; proceedings there, iii. 328; sails for Terceira, and meets the "Honest Seaman," iii. 329; captures a Spanish galleon, *ib.*; the "Admiral" springs a leak, iii. 330; storms and mutiny, iii. 331–2; danger of the Prince, iii. 333; devotion of Prince Maurice, iii. 334; magnanimity of the "Admiral's" crew, iii. 335; loss of the "Admiral" and 333 men, iii. 336; loss of the "Loyal Subject," *ib.*; wreck of a Spanish galleon, iii. 337; dispute about salvage, iii. 338–9; leaves the Azores, iii. 342; at Cape Blanco, iii. 343; proceedings there, iii. 344; his adventures with the Moors, iii. 344–5–6–7; dispatches a vessel with letters to France, iii. 348; letter to Charles II., giving an account of his cruise, iii. *ib.*—to Sir Edward Hyde; supplies to Charles II. and Duke of York, iii. 349; to the Earl of Craven—account of his voyage, iii. 350; sails from Cape Blanco to the Cape de Verds, iii. 351; at Bonavista, iii. 351; description of Bonavista, iii. 353; Captain Pitt's narrative of the Prince's voyage to the West Indies, iii. 531; at St. Jago's, iii. 354; his reception by the governor, *ib.*; letter of thanks to the King of Portugal, iii. 356; sails for river Gambia, iii. 357; Colonel Vermuyden's narrative, iii. 538; takes an English ship, iii. 358; takes a Spanish pink, iii. 359; at Elephant Island, iii. 360; description of Elephant Island, iii. 361; anchors at Reatch, iii. 363; adventures there, *ib.* 363–4–5; returns to the Cape de Verds—captures an English prize, iii. 367; sails for the West Indies, iii. 370;

Rupert, Prince, *continued.*
arrives at St. Lucia—description of St. Lucia, iii. 371 ; at Martinique—description of Martinique, iii. 372–3–4 ; at Guadaloupe and Montserrat, iii. 375 ; at Nevis—description of, iii. 376 ; captures a ship, *ib.*; at Basse Terre, iii. 377 ; at the Virgin Islands—refits ships in Cavaliers' Harbour, iii. 378 ; short of provisions, iii. 379 ; description of Virgin Islands, iii. 379 ; hurricane, iii. 381–2 ; loss of Prince Maurice and the Honest Seaman, iii. 382 ; returns to Guadaloupe, iii. 383 ; takes two English ships in Five Island Harbour, iii. 384 ; homeward bound, iii. 386 ; his uncourteous reception at Fayal and St. Michael's, iii. 385 ; sails for France, iii. 386 ; arrives at Nantes, iii. 387 ; abandons the sea, iii. 417 ; illness of, iii. 418 ; invited to visit Charles II., iii. 419 ; invited by Louis XIV. to Paris, iii. 421 ; made master of horse to Louis XIV., *ib.*; offers to head Scotch insurgents, iii. 423 ; narrowly escapes drowning, iii. 424, note, *ib.* ; attacked near the Louvre, iii. 425 ; invited by Emperor of Germany to command his army, iii. 426 ; charged with a commission from Charles II. to Court of Vienna, *ib.* ; visits his mother at the Hague ; iii. 427-443 ; at Heidelberg. iii. 430 ; difficulty of tracing his movements, iii. 429 ; employs himself in philosophical pursuits, iii. 431 ; discovers a new gunpowder, iii. 433; discovers the composition of "Princes Metal," *ib.* ; "Rupert's Drop" attributed to him, iii. *ib.*—note, *ib* ; his suggestions for his biography, iii. 434 ; mezzotint engraving discovered by, iii. 435, note, *ib.* ; list of his mezzotint engravings, iii. 546 ; his etchings, iii. 548 ; shews his process to Evelyn, iii. 436 ; observations on his discovery of mezzotint engraving, iii. 437-8-9-40 ; arrives in England, iii. 444 ; reconciled with Sir Edward Hyde, iii. 446 ; letters to Col. Legge on money affairs, iii. 447 ; Turkish war, iii. 448 ; Swedish war, De Rues, the engineer, iii. 448 ; his position at Vienna, iii. 450 ; Court gossip, iii. 452 ; Turkish war, iii. *ib.* ;

Rupert, Prince, *continued.*
money matters, iii. 453 ; war in Transylvania, iii. 454 ; sickness of Austrian officers, iii. 455 ; on his leaving Vienna, iii. 456 ; at Frankfort, iii. 457 ; his reception by Charles II., iii. 459, note, *ib.* ; Charles II. and Buckingham visit his "workshop," iii. *ib.* ; converts a turret of Windsor Castle into a workshop, iii. 460 ; made a bencher of "Inner Temple," member of Privy Council, and F.R.S., iii. 461 ; his affection for Francisca Bard, iii. 466 ; solicits an estate from his brother, Charles Louis. to enable him to marry, iii. 467 ; noticed in Pepys's Diary, iii. *ib.* ; change in his character, iii. 468, note, an admiral, iii. 472, note ; battle with the Dutch, iii. 474–9 ; his declaration to Parliament on his naval battles with the Dutch, iii. 480, 3–4–5 ; avoids party politics, *ib.* ; illness of, iii, 486 ; at Tunbridge Wells, iii. 487 ; the Prince described by Count Hamilton, iii. 489; captivated by Mrs. Hughes, *ib.* ; Lord Orford's description of the Prince, iii. 490–1 ; returns to Windsor, iii. *ib.* ; repels the Dutch in the Medway, iii. 492–4 ; abstains from politics, iii. 495 ; income of, how derived, iii. *ib.* ; appointed Lord High Admiral, iii. 497 ; Popish intrigues against, iii. 498 ; attacks Dutch fleet at Schonevelt, iii. 501 ; his indignation at the neglected state of the navy, iii. 504 ; Governor of Hudson's Bay Company, iii. 508 ; anecdote of, iii. 509 ; death, iii. 512 ; programme of his funeral, iii. 555 ; Lord Craven's account as his executor, iii. 558 ; fragmentary correspondence of, iii. 553 ; life of the Prince, by Colonel Benett, i. 441 ; Captain Pyne's narrative of, i. 5.

Ruthven, Lord, note, ii. 15 ; commands Royal army at Edgehill, ii. 16 ; plan of battle at Edgehill, *ib.*

Rutland, Earl of, *see* note, ii. 97 ; declines to act as Commissioner of Great Seal, ii. 98 ; committed to Custody of Serjeant-at-Arms, ii. 99.

Sabran, M. de., extract from, iii. 132.

Sackville, Sir Thomas, to Prince Rupert, offer of service of his son, ii. 93.

Varney, Sir Edmund, his conversation with Lord Clarendon on the state of Charles I.'s camp, i. 121.
Varney, Sir Ralph, death of at Edgehill,ii. 25.
Vavasour, Sir William to Prince Rupert; intrigues against Rupert, ii. 332.
Veymuyden, Col., summary of Rupert's voyage to Gambia, iii. 538.
Vicars, Jehovah Jireh, quoted; excesses of Londoners, ii. 213, note, *ib.*
Vieuville, Marquis of, death of, ii. 292.
Virgin Islands, description of, iii. 381.

Wagstaff, Colonel, taken prisoner, ii. 91.
Wales, Prince of, demanded by Commons as a hostage, i. 247; made Knight of the Garter, i. 354; sent to West of England, iii. 64; at Bristol, iii. 68; maintained by Lord Hopton, *ib.*; Sails from Holland for the Downs, iii. 249; chased by Parliament fleet, iii. 251; returns to Holland, iii. 252; loses Portsmouth fleet, *ib.*; illness of, iii. 264; pecuniary difficulties of, iii. 308; efforts of, to recover his kingdom, iii. 412; vices of his Court, iii. 422, 466–7; restoration, iii. 440; his reception of Prince Rupert, iii. 459; visits Rupert's workshop, iii. *ib*; goes to Portsmouth to meet his future queen, iii. 461; interested in his navy, iii. 470; naval expeditions in his reign, iii–471; his conduct to his men, iii. 473–4: disgraceful neglect of his navy, iii. 503–4.
Waller, Sir William, to Sir Ralph Hopton, i. 416; takes Farnham Castle, ii. 73.
Waller, Sir William, takes Malmesbury, ii. 142; defeats Lord Herbert, ii. 144; his Welsh campaign, ii. 145; surnamed William the Conqueror, ii. 221; battle of Roundway Down, ii. 234; flies to Gloucester, ii. 235; his quarrel with Essex, *ib.*; reinforced at Basing-House, ii. 327–3; takes Winchester Castle, ii. 404; junction with Essex—invests Oxford, ii. 413; pursues Charles I. ii. 416; to Prince Rupert,—exchange of prisoners, iii. 38; to General Goring—exchange of prisoners, iii. 39; in Somersetshire, *ib.*
Waller's plot, detected by Pym, ii. 200; its object, *ib.*
War, Civil, summary of events preceding the, i. 123.
Wardour Castle, defence of, ii. 215.
Warwick, Sir P., his description of Charles I. i. 256.
Warwick, Lord, pedigree of, i. 260, note; tried for treason, i. 312; chases Prince of Wales to Holland, iii. 251; his fleet supplied from Rotterdam, iii. 263; anchors near Prince Rupert, iii. 246; sails for England, iii. 266.
Watson, General, to Colonel Roe, intercepted despatch of storming of Bridgewater, iii. 147.
Wentworth, Lord, movements of, in Buckingham, ii. 80; to Prince Rupert, turbulence of Cavaliers, ii. 191; account of a foraging expedition, ii. 193.
Whitelocke, Bulstrode, prophetic speech of, i. 286.
Williams, Archbishop, *see* note, i. 303; attack upon, by Hotham, junr., i. 304.
Willis, Sir R., superseded as Governor of Newark, iii. 203; demands a trial by council of war, iii. 204; quarrels with the King, *ib.*; petition of the Cavaliers, iii. 205, note.
Willoughby, Lord, raises 600 men for the King, i. 378; taken prisoner at Edgehill, ii. 25, 35; to Prince Rupert, skirmish near Banbury, ii. 186.
Wilmot, Sir H., his disinclination to fight, ii. 74, *see* note, *ib.*; takes Wantage, ii. 75.
Wilmot, F. H., at Roundway Down, ii. 235; to Prince Rupert; movements of Essex, ii. 273; quartered near Buckingham, ii. 324; arrest of, iii. 9; created Lord Rochester, iii. 10, note; officers petition Charles I. on his removal, iii. 17.
Windebank, Secretary to Earl of Leicester, on Prince Rupert's intended marriage, i. 66.
———— Colonel, shot for surrendering Blechington-house, iii. 76.
Windsor, Prince Rupert's attack upon, ii. 49.
Witte, De, testimony of English valour, iii. 480.

Wolstenholme, John, to Sir F. Fairfax; dissolute conduct of Puritan soldiers, *note* iii. 36.
Worcester, Marquis of, garrisons Ragland Castle, ii. 101; the King promises Dukedom of Somerset to, iii. 18; shelters the King after battle of Naseby, iii. 113, *note ib.*; besieged in Ragland Castle, iii. 411; his estates confiscated, death of, iii. 412; intended speech of, statement of his services, iii. 515.
Wormleighton, skirmish at, ii. 10.
Wren, Sir Christopher, claims discovery of art of mezzotint engraving, iii. 438.
Wyndham, Edmund, disinclined to fight under Hopton, iii. 47.

York, Archbishop of, to Prince Rupert; quarrel with Royal commanders in Wales, iii. 55.
York, Duke of, incapacitated by Test Act, iii. 495.

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by S. & J. Bentley and Henry Fley,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 014 861 301

DA
407
R9W2
V.3

Stanford University Libraries
Stanford, California

Return this book on or before date due.

2/11/77
JUN 1988